

Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis

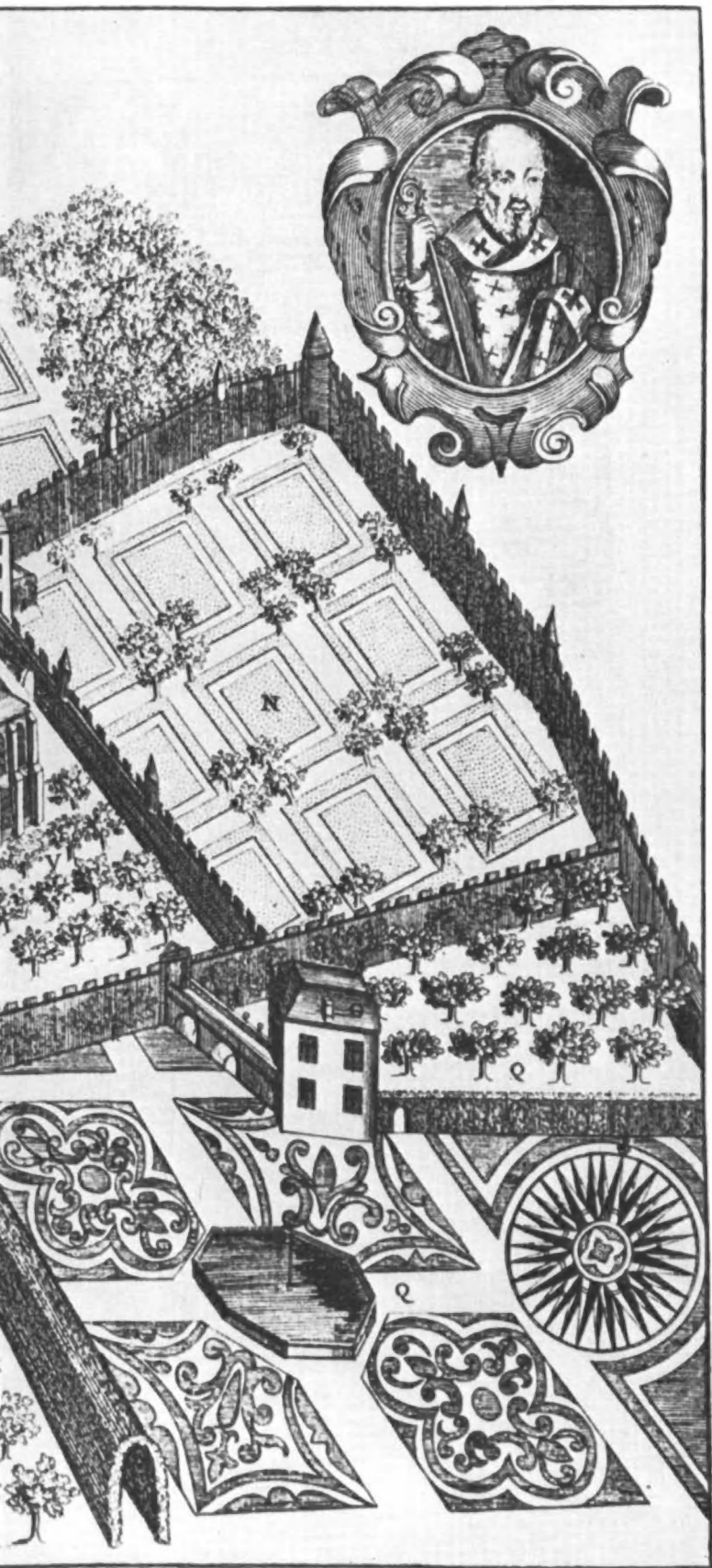


The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Abbot Suger
and
Saint-Denis



Abbey of Saint-Denis. Seventeenth-century engraving after Michel Germain (from *Monasticon Gallicanum*, pl. 66)



Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis

A Symposium

Edited by Paula Lieber Gerson

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This book is dedicated to the memories of Sumner McKnight Crosby and Louis Grodecki.

Contents

Foreword	<i>Philippe de Montebello</i>	ix
Preface	<i>Paula Lieber Gerson</i>	xi
Introduction: Suger's Life and Personality	<i>John F. Benton</i>	3
I. MONASTIC LIFE		
Suger's Monastic Administration	<i>Giles Constable</i>	17
Suger, Theology, and the Pseudo-Dionysian Tradition	<i>Grover A. Zinn, Jr.</i>	33
The Liturgy at Saint-Denis: A Preliminary Study	<i>Niels Krogh Rasmussen, O.P.</i>	41
II. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY		
Suger's Views on Kingship	<i>Andrew W. Lewis</i>	49
Suger and the Capetians	<i>Eric Bournazel</i>	55
A Note on Suger's Understanding of Political Power	<i>Michel Bur</i>	73
Good Works, Social Ties, and the Hope for Salvation: Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis	<i>Clark Maines</i>	77
Suger and the Symbolism of Royal Power: The Seal of Louis VII	<i>Brigitte Bedos Rezak</i>	95
III. ARCHITECTURE		
Suger's Church at Saint-Denis: The State of Research	<i>William W. Clark</i>	105
What Possible Sources for the Chevet of Saint-Denis?	<i>Jean Bony</i>	131
IV. LIBRARY AND LITERATURE		
Suger's Literary Style and Vision	<i>Robert W. Hanning</i>	145

History as Enlightenment: Suger and the <i>Mos Anagogicus</i>	<i>Gabrielle M. Spiegel</i>	151
Some New Readings of Suger's Writings	<i>Philippe Verdier</i>	159
The Problem of Manuscript Painting at Saint-Denis During the Abbacy of Suger	<i>Harvey Stahl</i>	163
V. SCULPTURE AND MOSAICS		
Suger as Iconographer: The Central Portal of the West Facade of Saint-Denis	<i>Paula Lieber Gerson</i>	183
The Lateral Portals of the West Facade of the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis: Archaeological and Iconographic Considerations	<i>Pamela Z. Blum</i>	199
Did Suger Build the Cloister at Saint-Denis?	<i>Léon Pressouyre</i>	229
The Mosaic Pavement of the Saint Firmin Chapel at Saint-Denis: Alberic and Suger	<i>Xavier Barral i Altet</i>	245
VI. STAINED GLASS AND METALWORK		
Suger's Glass at Saint-Denis: The State of Research	<i>Madeline Harrison Caviness</i>	257
The Style of the Stained-Glass Windows of Saint-Denis	<i>Louis Grodecki</i>	273
Suger's Liturgical Vessels	<i>Danielle Gaborit-Chopin</i>	283
Traditional Forms in Suger's Contributions to the Treasury of Saint-Denis	<i>William D. Wixom</i>	295

Foreword

ABBOT SUGER'S patronage of the arts during his reconstruction and refurbishing of the abbey church of Saint-Denis (1137–48) directly brought about the birth of Gothic art. In a few short years the course of Western art was changed: a new style of architecture and sculpture emerged, new forms such as the statue column were invented, and stained glass found its first large-scale monumental use. As the Gothic style matured it came to dominate European art for the next three centuries, and its impact can be seen in the styles of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

It thus seemed fitting in 1981 to commemorate Suger's achievements on the nine-hundredth anniversary of his birth. The celebration was a coordinated effort on the part of a group of institutions. A major symposium was held at The Cloisters and at Columbia University, sponsored by the International Center for Medieval Art and the Medieval and Renaissance Interdisciplinary Studies Committee of Columbia University. Simultaneously an exhibition at The Cloisters brought together objects from Saint-Denis now scattered in different collections, some of which had not been together since before the French Revolution. This volume of essays represents the results of this very fruitful collaboration.

Suger's achievements as a patron of the arts were so extraordinary that they have overshadowed other aspects of this remarkable man's involvement in twelfth-century life and affairs. However, Suger's influence went far beyond his contributions to the world of art. As counselor to both Louis VI and Louis VII, Suger was instrumental in developing the theory of kingship, which led to the evolution of the nation-states of Europe. His success as administrator, diplomat, and elder statesman led to his appointment as regent of France when Louis VII left for the Second Crusade. Suger chronicled events in which he played a vital part, as in the rebuilding of his abbey, and he also produced the first works of regnal history in his *Vita Ludovici grossi regis* and

the fragmentary *Historia gloriosi regis Ludovici*. It is to his abbacy that we trace the beginnings of the chronicle tradition, a hallmark of the abbey of Saint-Denis in succeeding centuries.

The symposium and this volume of essays constitute the first assessment of all facets of Suger's career at Saint-Denis, and, indeed, a common mode of thinking can be seen in Suger's undertakings. His approach to architecture as a vehicle for expressing the neo-Platonic philosophy of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite is paralleled in the structure of his historical writings; similarly, the organization of the iconographic programs in the sculpture and stained glass of Saint-Denis is mirrored in his reorganization of the abbey's properties and income. The spiritual values he placed on liturgical objects and stained glass clearly reflect the Dionysian theology found in the texts of pseudo-Dionysius preserved in the monastic library. His ideas on economic reform and consolidation echo the political consolidations he counseled the monarchy to achieve. As Suger's political activities and historical writings demonstrate, he was an important architect of the French state as well as a brilliantly innovative patron of architecture.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art is proud to have had the opportunity to make this volume available to scholars and the general public and to help put into perspective the works and legacy of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis. We wish to thank the editor of the volume, Dr. Paula Gerson, and the editorial committee, Drs. Pamela Blum, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, William W. Clark, and Gabrielle Spiegel, for their endeavors, and we are grateful to the eminent scholars who have contributed essays. Finally, we must thank the National Endowment for the Humanities for its assistance in providing funding for both the symposium and this book.

Philippe de Montebello

Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Preface

THE ABBEY OF SAINT-DENIS has been, from Merovingian times, inextricably linked with the royal dynasties of France. Known as the burial place of the martyr Denis, patron saint of France, the abbey became the royal necropolis under the Capetians, although Dagobert was the first French king to be buried near the saint. Special tenurial ties bound the kings of France to Saint-Denis, and from the reign of Louis VI the French kings carried the abbey's banner (later called the Oriflamme) with them into battle. Thus, over the centuries the monastery became the true royal abbey of France.

Of modest birth, Suger was given as a child to the abbey. He eventually became abbot of the monastery, counselor to two kings of France, and regent of the kingdom. A man of extraordinary gifts, Suger devoted all his energies to advancing the monarchy and glorifying Saint-Denis and its patron saint during his abbacy (1122–51).

Suger was an important figure not only because of his position as abbot of Saint-Denis, but also because of the variety of his interests and the force with which he accomplished his aims. His impact was felt in such diverse areas as political history, aesthetics, art, literature, and theology. Yet Suger has not received the scholarly attention that has been accorded such twelfth-century figures as Peter Abelard, Peter the Venerable, and Bernard of Clairvaux—men whose impact was undoubtedly great but whose breadth of interests and influence were far more restricted. In 1981, as the nine-hundredth centennial of Suger's birth approached, it seemed fitting to rectify this neglect.

The idea of holding a conference for this purpose had crystallized a few years earlier when I heard Gabrielle M. Spiegel's paper "Suger, the Cult of Saint Denis and the Capetians." Having worked for many years on the west facade of Saint-Denis, I was intrigued to discover that Dr. Spiegel had isolated some of the same forces at work in Suger's approach to political problems that

I had found in his approach to iconography. It therefore seemed appropriate to plan an interdisciplinary conference to consider and assess Suger's many contributions to the life and thought of the age in which he lived and worked. The essays in this volume represent the fruits of that symposium, held in April of 1981.

Sumner McKnight Crosby, honorary chair of the symposium, provided invaluable guidance and assistance during the planning period. He generously shared the results of his lifelong research on the abbey with the other participants. During the preparation of this volume of essays after his death, Sarah T. Crosby continued in the same spirit, and we owe her a great debt of gratitude.

The organizational committee for the symposium, Pamela Z. Blum, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, William W. Clark, Stephen Gardner, Jane Hayward, Harvey Stahl, Gabrielle M. Spiegel, William D. Wixom, and I as chair, tackled the problems of planning. In areas where considerable research existed, state-of-the-question papers were planned. At the same time we singled out the many areas where little or no research had been done, and leading scholars were asked to prepare presentations that we hoped would lay the groundwork for future investigations. In addition, an exhibition was planned at The Cloisters including many of the objects from Suger's reconstruction of the abbey church of Saint-Denis, objects that would be discussed in the papers presented at the symposium. Special gratitude is owed Philippe de Montebello, director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, William D. Wixom, chairman of the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, Jane Hayward, curator of The Cloisters, and Charles T. Little, associate curator of medieval art at the Metropolitan Museum. Thanks to them and their staffs the exhibition brought together for the first time in centuries many objects now scattered throughout the world.

Support for the Suger and Saint-Denis symposium was given by the International Center of Medieval Art, the Medieval Acad-

emy of America, and Columbia University's Graduate School of the Arts and Sciences Interdepartmental Committee on Medieval and Renaissance Studies; Joan M. Ferrante, Robert W. Hanning, and Robert Somerville were especially helpful. Funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities made the conference, as well as this volume, possible. Research at the abbey church itself, crucial for many of the papers, was facilitated by A. J. Brankovic of the Bâtiments de France de la Seine-Saint-Denis as well as by Mme Laurence, the former *gardienne*, and her staff at the basilica, who granted many of us access to various parts of the building and allowed temporary scaffolding to be erected in front of the west facade. A conference run on the proverbial shoestring needs many friends and many hands to function smoothly, and I thank the numerous volunteers who collected tickets, stamped envelopes, supplied translations, answered telephone calls, took care of frantic last-minute typing needs, and who, in essence, did what needed to be done. The scholars who chaired sessions but did not present papers themselves—Elizabeth A. R. Brown, Walter Cahn, Ilene H. Forsyth, and Jane Hayward—contributed greatly to the success of the symposium, as did Joseph R. Strayer, whose concluding remarks added just the right final note.

Many of the papers presented at the symposium have been revised in light of the discussion and interchange before, during, and after the conference. All the papers presented at the symposium appear here with the exception of Stephen Gardner's "Two Campaigns in Suger's Western Block." Professor Gardner withdrew his paper for earlier publication in the *Art Bulletin* 66 (1984), 574–87. Two papers not presented at the symposium have been added to this collection because the editorial committee felt they contained important discussions and complemented other essays in the volume: Xavier Barral i Altet's "The Mosaic Pavement of the Saint Firmin Chapel at Saint-Denis: Alberic and Suger," and Brigitte Bedos Rezak's "The Seal of Louis VII: Suger and the Symbol of Royal Power."

A book of this complexity requires the cooperation of many people. I was most fortunate in having the help of a superb editorial committee composed of Pamela Z. Blum, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, William W. Clark, and Gabrielle M. Spiegel, all of whom assisted in reading the essays and making suggestions for improvements. Help came from other sources as well. Bella Meyer and Carole Lazio transcribed the tape of Louis Grodecki's talk at the symposium, and Catherine Grodecki helped immeasurably with the translation of the paper after her husband's

death. Suse Childs at The Cloisters answered many queries and provided essential information, and Barbara Drake Boehm of The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Department of Medieval Art was invaluable in providing accurate terminology for metalwork. Leslie Bussis and Lisa Metcalf both helped with miscellaneous research, and W. Hunt Clark, Noni Geiger, and Stephen Sechrist prepared drawings and diagrams. Barbara Burn, who supervised the project for the Editorial Department of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the staff of the department, copy editors Kathleen C. Antrim and Lorraine Alexander Veach, and designer Joseph Del Valle all deserve praise for their patience and for their contributions to the production of this volume.

Finally, of all the people who have worked on the symposium and this book, my special thanks go to Elizabeth A. R. Brown. Her initial enthusiasm for the project was infectious. She offered good counsel and hard work without stint throughout the entire process, contributed suggestions for grant applications, and provided help with difficult translation problems and knotty editorial questions. Indeed, there is no aspect of the project in which she did not participate. Time and again she gave generously of her time and energy and buoyed my flagging spirits when tasks seemed overwhelming.

This volume of essays should stand at the beginning of the process of comprehensive evaluation of Abbot Suger and the abbey of Saint-Denis. We can look forward, in the near future, to a number of new publications, among them Sumner McKnight Crosby's posthumous volume on the architecture of the twelfth-century abbey church, Pamela Z. Blum's work on Sugerian sculpture, new translations of Suger's writings by Thomas G. Waldman and Jeremy du Q. Adams, studies of Saint-Denis liturgical texts and music by Edward Foley and Ann Walters, Michael W. Cothren's studies of Dionysian stained glass, and the latest in the ongoing explorations conducted by the urban archaeological team of Saint-Denis headed by Olivier Meyer, Michaël Wyss, David John Coxall, and Nicole Meyer. We consider that this present volume will have done its job if it serves to stimulate further interest in Suger, not only among contemporary students and scholars, but among future generations of investigators as well.

Paula Lieber Gerson
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Note to the Reader

THE TEXTS WRITTEN by Suger and cited in this volume are the *Vita Ludovici grossi regis* (hereafter *Vita Lud.*), *Liber de rebus in administratione sua gestis* (hereafter *Adm.*), *Libellus alter de consecratione ecclesiae sancti dionysii* (hereafter *Cons.*), a group of charters (hereafter *Ch.*), including the *Ordinatio* (hereafter *Ord.*) and *Testamentum* (hereafter *Test.*), and a group of letters (hereafter *Let.*). In addition there is a fragment of a life of Louis VII, sometimes referred to by the title *Historia gloriosi regis Ludovici* (hereafter *Frag. Lud.*), which has been attributed to Suger.

The authors of essays in this volume have used five of the various editions of Suger's texts. These will be distinguished in the footnotes by the letters D, L, M, P, and W after the text cited. The editions are as follows:

D: André and François Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum scriptores*, 5 vols., (Paris, 1636–49). The texts of *Adm.*, *Cons.*, *Vita Lud.*, *Ch.*, and *Let.* are found in volume 4 (1641), pp. 281 ff.

L: Albert Lecoy de la Marche, *Oeuvres complètes de Suger*, Société de l'Histoire de France, vol. 139 (Paris, 1867). To prepare this work Lecoy de la Marche compared all earlier manuscript copies and printed editions. His volume contains the *Vita Lud.*, *Adm.*, *Cons.*, *Ch.*, *Let.*, as well as William of Saint-Denis's *Encyclical letter* (hereafter *Enc. Let.*) and his *Sugerii Vita* (hereafter *Vita Sug.*). Added to these texts is the fragmentary life of Louis VII contributed by Jules Lair, which can also be found in Jules Lair, "Fragment inédit de la vie de Louis VII préparée par Suger," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 34 (1873): 583–96.

M: Auguste Molinier, *Vie de Louis le Gros par Suger suivie de l'Histoire du roi Louis VII*, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire (Paris, 1887). The Latin texts are introduced by a discussion of the manuscript tradition

and summaries of the *Vita Lud.* and *Frag. Lud.* in French.

P: Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and Its Art Treasures* (Princeton, 1946, 2nd edition 1979). Panofsky edited and translated into English only those parts of *Adm.* which concern Suger's rebuilding and refurnishing the abbey church. His volume does contain the full edited text and translation of *Cons.* and *Ord.* The introductory essay considers Suger's personality and his interests as a patron of the arts, and the extensive notes on the texts have been updated in the second edition and a complete bibliography added.

W: Henri Waquet, Suger. *Vie de Louis le Gros*, Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge, 11 (Paris, 1929). Waquet's volume contains the Latin text and French translation of the *Vita Lud.* The introduction discusses the manuscripts and earlier printed editions used.

When referring to the comments of the authors of the above editions rather than the texts of Suger that they publish, the citations will be Duchesne, *Histoire*; Lecoy, *Oeuvres*; Molinier, *Louis le Gros*; Panofsky, *Suger*; and Waquet, *Vie*.

For manuscripts on which the printed editions are based see Lecoy, *Oeuvres*, pp. iii–xx; Panofsky, *Suger*, pp. 143–49; and Waquet, *Vie*, pp. xxiv–xxvii. In this volume see the essays by Gabrielle M. Spiegel (especially note 7), Harvey Stahl (especially notes 11 and 40), and Philippe Verdier.

Other abbreviated titles are:

Cartellieri, <i>Suger</i>	Otto Cartellieri, <i>Abt Suger von Saint-Denis</i> , Historische Studien 11 (Berlin, 1898, reprint Millbrook, N.Y., 1965)
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- Du Cange Charles Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (new edition, Niort, 1883–87)
- PG Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca* (Paris, 1857–87)
- PL Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina* (Paris, 1844–80)
- Royal Abbey Sumner McKnight Crosby, Jane Hayward, Charles T. Little, and William D. Wixom, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis in the Time of Suger (1122–1151)*, exhib. cat. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1981)

Abbot Suger
and
Saint-Denis

BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF SUGER'S LIFE

1081 (or 1080)	Born
ca. 1091	Became oblate at Saint-Denis
ca. 1107	Became provost of Berneval
ca. 1109–1111	Was provost of Toury
February 19, 1122	Death of Abbot Adam
March 12, 1122	Ordained abbot of Saint-Denis
August 1124	Louis VI takes banner of Vexin from Saint-Denis, repulses Henry V
June 17, 1137	Date of Suger's testament
June–August 1137	Suger accompanies Louis VII to Aquitaine for marriage to Eleanor; Louis's coronation in Poitiers, August 8
August 1, 1137	Death of Louis VI
June 9, 1140	Consecration of chapels of facade and western bays of Saint-Denis
July 14, 1140	Foundation of Saint-Denis's chevet laid
June 11, 1144	Chevet consecrated
February 18, 1147	Named regent
March 8, 1149	Assembles council at Soissons; counters insubordination of Robert of Dreux
January 13, 1151	Death

Introduction:

Suger's Life and Personality

John F. Benton

WHEN SUGER died in 1151, his abbey circulated an encyclical letter that contained the following chronological statement:

He died between the recitation of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, the ides of the month of January, in his seventieth year, about sixty years after he assumed the monastic habit, in the twenty-ninth year of his prelacy.¹

From this statement we may calculate the major dates of Suger's life: born in 1081 (or possibly 1080), he became an oblate of Saint-Denis about ten years later, was consecrated abbot in 1122, and died January 13, 1151.² These dates are the most essential points of Suger's monastic chronology. Let us try to go beyond them to the man himself.

Though there has been much uncertainty and controversy about Suger's origins, there is evidence that he was related to a family of minor *milites* who held property at Chennevières-lès-Louvres, a village eighteen kilometers from the abbey of Saint-Denis in the plain northeast of Paris, close to the present airport at Roissy. This was territory of relatively recent settlement—Chennevières may well have been established in the eleventh century³—where the abbeys of Saint-Denis and Argenteuil were major landholders, and the Montmorency family dominated a dense implantation of minor vassals and vavasors. The knights of Chennevières can be traced back to a Suger *Magnus*, who was born in the late eleventh century and may have been a nephew of Suger's father. Though the evidence is inconclusive, Suger *Magnus* may have been related, by blood or marriage, to the Orphelins of Annet-sur-Marne, who were in turn connected with the Garlandes. For such families of obscure knights in the region close to Paris, the key to success was royal patronage and church

office. To place a child in the great royal abbey of Saint-Denis was a career decision that could benefit the entire family.⁴

We know the name of Suger's father, Helinand, and those of a brother and sister-in-law, Ralph and Emeline, from obituary rolls.⁵ Nowhere, however, do we learn the name of his mother, nor does he ever mention her in his writings. Or perhaps I should say he never refers to his natural mother, for repeatedly he writes in the most physical terms of his institutional, or spiritual, mother, the *mater ecclesia*, by which he always means the abbey of Saint-Denis.⁶

When Suger traveled to Germany in 1125, he was accompanied by another brother, a cleric named Peter, along with two sons of Suger *Magnus*, Ralph and Suger.⁷ Reaching prominence, Abbot Suger did what was expected of a man in his position and advanced the careers of his nephews. One of them, Simon, became the royal chancellor and probably a canon of Notre-Dame, and another, William, was established as a canon of the same cathedral. A third, John, died on a mission to Eugene III on behalf of the abbey of Saint-Denis. Of a nephew named Girard we know only that in the 1140s he owed the abbey five *sous* annually from his house and five *sous* from the money collected for the transport of madder.⁸ If, as I think likely, the chancellor Simon is the same man as Simon of Saint-Denis, canon of Paris, we can extend the list of Suger's favored relatives even further, for a witness list shows that Master Hilduin, who died as chancellor of Notre-Dame about 1190, was a brother of Simon of Saint-Denis, and Hugh Foucault, who was prior of Saint-Denis and Argenteuil in the 1160s and died as abbot of Saint-Denis in 1197, was an uncle of one of Simon's nephews. To have provided his nephews with the education and connections that produced a chancellor of France, an abbot of Saint-Denis, a chancellor of Notre-Dame,

and at least one other canon of Notre-Dame was an achievement in which any twelfth-century man would have taken pride.⁹

At about the age of ten Suger was oblated at the Main Altar of Saint-Denis, an altar he later enriched with gold panels.¹⁰ He then spent approximately a decade at Saint-Denis-de-l'Estrée, a dependency close to the great abbey church.¹¹ For a period before 1106 he went to school at some distance from Saint-Denis; he tells us that it was near Fontevault, and Marmoutier is a possible location.¹² His classical training was solid though not unusually deep and stayed with him throughout the rest of his life, so that in his later years he could impress his monks by reciting from memory twenty or even thirty verses of Horace.¹³

By the time he was twenty-five years old he began to go on missions for his abbey, to a synod at Poitiers in 1106 and to attend Paschal II at La Charité-sur-Loire and at Châlons-sur-Marne in 1107, when the pope met Emperor Henry V. In 1112 he was present at the second Lateran council. Finding favor with Abbot Adam, he also held settled administrative responsibilities, first as provost of Berneval on the Norman coast near Dieppe, then between 1109 and 1111 as provost of the more important priory of Toury. Toury sits strategically on the road from Paris to Orléans just eight kilometers from Le Puiset. In 1112 the priory was attacked first by Hugh of Le Puiset and then by Theobald of Blois, Milo of Montlhéry, Hugh of Crécy, and Guy of Rochefort.¹⁴ Since Suger wrote in *The Life of Louis VI* with considerable detail about the continuing conflict between the king and all these men, one does well to remember that they were important to Suger not only for their opposition to the crown but for their attacks on a domain of Saint-Denis for which he was responsible.

During these years as a monk of Saint-Denis, Suger served his king, Louis VI, as well as Abbot Adam; notably, in 1118, Louis sent him as an emissary to meet Gelasius II in southern France, and in 1121–22 he went to Italy to see Calixtus II on behalf of Louis. It was on his return from Italy in March of 1122 that the forty-one-year-old monk learned that Adam had died and that his brothers at Saint-Denis had elected him abbot. Suger took pride in the fact that he had been absent and had not even known of the election. His fellow monks may have thought that Suger's election would please the king—the two men were approximately the same age and may have known each other at the abbey school, though Louis probably left Saint-Denis a year or two after Suger became an oblate, and there is no evidence to show that they were ever friends in their youth. Before 1122 Louis had already chosen Suger for responsible positions. If the monks reasoned that Suger's royal connection would benefit the abbey, they still made the crucial mistake of failing to consult the king about the election and had to face his anger and even imprisonment when they sought his assent after the fact. Only after negotiation did the king grant Suger his peace and confirmation. On March 11, 1122, Suger was ordained a priest, and the next day conse-

crated as abbot.

Within a few years Suger advanced to the position of a favorite royal counselor. As abbot of Saint-Denis he enjoyed a triumph of influence and prestige when in 1124 the king came to the abbey to take the banner of the Vexin from the altar and to grant privileges to the church of Saint-Denis and then achieved a bloodless victory over the invading Henry V of Germany. In a charter granted to the abbey at that time, Louis referred to Suger (who in fact probably drafted the charter) as "the venerable abbot . . . whom we had in our councils as a loyal dependent and intimate adviser."¹⁵

Because Suger had worked effectively and harmoniously with Abbot Adam, whom he called his "spiritual father and foster parent,"¹⁶ the monks of Saint-Denis presumably expected their new abbot to continue the policies of his predecessor. As abbot, however, Suger was faced with the problem of bringing the discipline of his flock into line with current ideas of reform. If he moved too far or too fast, he would lose the support of his monks, but if he did nothing he faced attack from Bernard of Clairvaux and other partisans of reform.

It is difficult for us to judge the state of the abbey under Adam and in the first years of Suger's rule. Bernard wrote that "the very cloister of the monastery, they say, was thronged with knights, beset by business affairs, resounded with disputes, and now and then was open to women." In a bitter memoir Abelard called the abbey "absolutely worldly and shameful" and said that Abbot Adam surpassed his monks in evil living and notoriety.¹⁷ But Bernard wrote only of "what I have heard, not what I have seen," and Abelard was quite unspecific about what he found worldly and shameful. Given his strong views on the impropriety of monks eating meat, Abelard may well have been shocked by no more than Adam's establishment of an annual feast in memory of King Dagobert at which roast meat and claret were served.¹⁸ But, however exaggerated the charges which have come down to us, Suger was faced with a challenge and took steps to reform his abbey.

It seems likely that he was guided more by practicality than zeal and found ways to make what moderate reform he introduced acceptable to his monks. When giving God credit for his achievements, he cites first the recovery of old domains, new acquisitions, enlargement of the church, and the restoration or construction of buildings, and then records with pride that the abbey was fully reformed "peacefully, without scandal and disorder among the brothers, although they were not accustomed to it."¹⁹ He personally set an example of moderation though not of austerity for his monks, eating meat only when ill, drinking wine diluted with water, and eating food that was "neither too coarse nor too refined."²⁰

Suger's reform program satisfied, or at least encouraged, Bernard, who wrote a letter of congratulation around 1127, praising

him because now "the vaults of the church echo with spiritual canticles instead of court cases."²¹ According to Bernard, Suger reduced the splendor of his own life and promoted continence, discipline, and spiritual reading. But the purpose of this letter was not simply to praise Suger for amending "the arrogance of his former way of life" but to enlist the curial abbot's help in Bernard's campaign against the king's powerful chancellor and seneschal, Stephen of Garlande. Bernard noted that Suger was said to have been bound to Stephen in friendship, and he urged him to make the chancellor also a friend of truth. As we have seen, the friendship Bernard mentioned may have been based on a long-standing family connection.

Suger may well have complied with Bernard's request, though if he did his activity went unrecorded, and one must use caution in deducing intention from events. Stephen of Garlande fell, or rather was pushed, from power by early 1128, and it is reasonable to see Suger's hidden hand behind this coup d'état and to assume that at this point Bernard and Suger had forged a firm political alliance.²²

The monastic victors in this power struggle, wrapped in the banner of reform, aggrandized their own authority and property: in 1128 and 1129 monks replaced the nuns of Notre-Dame and Saint-Jean of Laon, Marmoutier took over Saint-Martin-au-Val near Chartres, and Morigny (with Suger's help) established its monks in the church of Saint-Martin of Étampes-les-Vielles. It is in this context that Suger's acquisition of Argenteuil should be placed.²³

"In my studious adolescence, I used to read through the old charters of our possessions in the archives," Suger reminisced as he related how he had found Carolingian records that he claimed proved the abbey of Argenteuil properly belonged to Saint-Denis, although, because of the disorder of the kingdom under the sons of Louis the Pious, the monks had not been able to gain possession.²⁴ Of the charter attributed to Louis the Pious that Suger produced to support his claims, one must say, "*Se non è vero, è molto ben trovato*," for the historical account given there appears quite unlikely and the charter is probably a skillful fabrication.²⁵ And in case his historical and documentary argument seemed insufficient, Suger bolstered his claim with charges about the immoral life of the nuns. The dispute was tried before the papal legate, a former prior of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, and the court was persuaded "both by the justice of our side and the great stench of theirs."²⁶ And so Argenteuil was "restored" to Saint-Denis, and the monks found that reform was good business.

Serious scholars have stated that Suger withdrew somewhat from political affairs after 1127 and deferred to Bernard of Clairvaux, but one may doubt this was the case.²⁷ The abbey bought, for a thousand *sous*, a house near the northern gate of Paris to be used as a lodging for men and horses, as Suger put it, "because

of our frequent participation in the affairs of the kingdom."²⁸ Bernard wrote letters, but Suger could advise privately and in person—and we all know which is more effective. For the remainder of the reign of Louis VI, Suger appears to have been his most trusted minister, and in the summer of 1137 he was one of the leaders of the expedition accompanying the king's seventeen-year-old son to Bordeaux for the marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine.²⁹

Louis VI died a few days later, before the wedding party could return to Paris. In the first years of the reign of the young Louis VII, Suger stood out as the most powerful man at court. In a conflict with the queen mother, Adelaide, and the seneschal, Ralph of Vermandois, both of whom proposed to leave court and retire to their estates, Suger reproached his rivals with the taunt that, though France might be repudiated by them, it would never be bereft. "Both retired in abject fear," recounted Suger in the history he began to write about the reign of Louis VII.³⁰

Shortly thereafter the young monarch asserted his independence from his father's adviser, and Suger's power was diminished. As the abbot of Saint-Denis held no official position in the royal household that would lend special significance to the absence of his name in royal charters, we must follow the shifts of his influence through the fortunes of a surrogate office, the chancellorship. At the beginning of the reign of Louis VII, the old king's vice-chancellor, Algrin, became chancellor. Algrin fell from power in 1140 and entered into open and effective conflict with the king. Suger and Bernard of Clairvaux were among those who mediated an accord, which was eventually reached at the castle of Ralph of Vermandois. One or perhaps two chancellors succeeded Algrin briefly in 1140, but before the end of the year the office was acquired by a powerful rival to Suger, Cadurc, who held the position until the king left on crusade in 1147 and again briefly after the king's return. Cadurc's second term of office was then followed by that of Suger's nephew, Simon. In 1140, too, Suger's rival, Ralph of Vermandois, returned to the office of seneschal, which had been vacant in 1138 and 1139, and held it until his death in 1151.³¹

As he entered his early sixties, Suger was pushed into the unwanted position of elder statesman in retirement. While Suger was in eclipse, the youthful king further established his independence and involved himself in an attempt to force the election of Cadurc as archbishop of Bourges (an attempt that led Innocent II to place the king under personal interdict), supported Ralph of Vermandois in his contested divorce and attempted marriage to the sister of Queen Eleanor, and led a bloody invasion of the lands of Theobald IV of Champagne.³²

Posterity benefited from the redirection of Suger's energies. Between July 1140, when the foundation of the chevet was laid at Saint-Denis, and June 1144, when it was consecrated, the aging abbot engaged in that intense supervision of construction he re-

cords so vividly in his writings on his administration and on the consecration of the abbey. Though Suger may well have been influenced by a desire for penance as he worked on the church,³³ during this period he presumably also regretted his loss of influence and threw himself into work that would commemorate his power and might impress the king. The *Ordinatio*, which he enacted in 1140 or 1141, has the appearance of an administrative reexamination of his work at Saint-Denis.³⁴ And it was probably in the first half of the 1140s that he found time to compose his *Life of Louis VI*, a work that attested to the closeness of his relationship with the king's father.³⁵ Indeed, all his completed books appear to have been written between 1140 and 1147.

In 1144, and even more clearly in 1145, we find Suger involved again in a minor way in royal affairs, as Louis planned his crusading expedition and attempted to draw conflicting factions together before his departure. In 1147, when the king was about to leave France on the Second Crusade, Bernard of Clairvaux proposed Suger and the count of Nevers to an assembly of barons at Étampes as the men to be regents during the king's absence. But Suger, it appears, would accept the position only as representative of the pope, the protector of all crusaders. Bernard then recommended Suger fulsomely to the pope, and the matter was settled when Eugene III named the abbot of Saint-Denis to serve as regent, while the king, acting on his own authority and in a delicate balancing act, also named as regents the archbishop of Reims, Samson Mauvoisin, and Ralph of Vermandois, thus forming a nominal triumvirate of regents. For two years Suger was, for all practical purposes, the chief of state: almost all his surviving letters date from this regency. When in 1149 Louis's brother, Robert of Dreux, broke with the king, returned early from the Crusade, and plotted with Ralph of Vermandois and others against him, it was Suger who called an assembly of prelates and barons, threatened the plotters with papal excommunication, forced Robert of Dreux into submission, and earned the title his biographer records as "father of his fatherland."³⁶

Although, when the occasion demanded it, Suger did not hesitate to appear at the head of armed troops, his greatest victories were bloodless. In 1124 some counseled a strategy of attack, proposing to cut off the German imperial army in order "to slaughter them without mercy like Saracens," but Suger's preference was to let Henry V retreat, and when this strategy was followed it gave the French a greater victory, as Suger put it, than one gained in battle.³⁷ Suger's thwarting of the plot of Robert of Dreux was equally bloodless. Looking back, near the end of his life, Suger claimed that for twenty years no peace was concluded between Henry I of England and Louis VI in which he had not played a leading role, "as one who held the confidence of both lords."³⁸ Indeed, of all the political leaders of the twelfth century, Suger appears preeminently as a man of peace.³⁹ Nevertheless, his idea of peace was no sentimental pacificism; it provided a justi-

fication for royal repression of disorder and "tyranny." Identifying the king with the God of Vengeance, he wrote approvingly of Louis VI's revenging himself "joyfully," and the word "vengeance" appears over one hundred times in his works.⁴⁰ This desire for peace through royal force justified by necessity was combined with a shrewd sense of the realities of power, and though he expressed violent condemnation of petty "tyrants" like Thomas of Marle and Hugh of Le Puiset (who were, indeed, personal enemies), he maintained a respectful attitude toward such powerful rivals of the French kings as Henry I and Henry's nephew, Theobald of Blois-Champagne.

Looking back, when he was about sixty, on his early career, Suger noted his regret that he had resorted to military force in protecting the abbey's domains in the Vexin and stated that this weighed on his conscience.⁴¹ When he first began reconstruction at the abbey church, he prayed in the chapter that he—a man of blood, like David—might not be barred from the building of the Temple.⁴² His histories show that images of blood struck Suger's mind with special force.⁴³ His policy of peace was stated aphoristically in the salutation in a letter of 1150 to the rebellious bishop, church, and populace of Beauvais wishing them "peace above and below from the King of kings and the king of the Franks."⁴⁴

Both Suger and his biographers commented on his humble origins; others, moreover, remarked on his small size, since he was slender as well as short, and not robust, being easily tired by vigorous exertion. As Simon Chèvre d'Or wrote in an epitaph:

Small of body and family, constrained by twofold smallness,
He refused in his smallness to be a small man.⁴⁵

Physically as well as socially Suger had to look up to others. In order to reach the level of power and achievement he attained, he must have been, like Abelard, a scrambler; but he was not a man who appears to have been rendered brittle by ambition. It is remarkable that, unlike Abelard (to name only one), Suger seems to have been quite free of jealousy. To the best of my knowledge, no contemporary accuses him of *invidia*. Moreover, unless I have read too hurriedly, the very word *invidia* appears nowhere in his writing. People commonly explain the actions of others by emotions with which they are themselves familiar. Suger frequently writes of *superbia*, but not of *invidia*.⁴⁶ Of what other medieval authors could this statement be made? Not indeed of Guibert of Nogent, Abelard, or Bernard.

Suger's ideal was probably to possess the qualities of Gelasius II, whom he describes as acting "with glory and humility, but with vigor."⁴⁷ Pride was surely the sin with which Suger had to wrestle most vigorously. Bernard had criticized Suger for the "manner and equipment with which you used to travel, which seemed somewhat arrogant."⁴⁸ Suger's writing sings out with

self-satisfaction. He gloried in his artistic and administrative achievements, and yet according to his biographer he lived modestly. As Erwin Panofsky puts it, his vanity was more than personal—it was institutional.⁴⁹

In personal relations with those about him, Suger could be vigorous, witty, and charming; his biographer writes of his sitting up till the middle of the night telling stories, “as he was a man of great good cheer.”⁵⁰ And yet there is a hidden side to his character. Much of Suger's activity and even more of his motivation remain obscure, and this is so not only because of a lack of documentary material from the early twelfth century. Suger's surviving letters are dry and unrevealing, nothing like the letters of monastic friendship left by Bernard, Peter the Venerable, and Nicholas of Clairvaux. In his histories he tells his readers what he wants them to know and attenuates or simply omits that which he found troublesome.⁵¹

We can understand this aspect of his character if we remember that Suger made his career as an administrator and as an intimate adviser, a *familiaris*. He had the talents of a first-rate counselor: an excellent memory, a strong sense of history and precedent, a shrewd if somewhat cynical grasp of human behavior and motivation, great oratorical skill in both French and Latin, and the ability to write almost as quickly as he could speak.⁵² Moreover, he knew what not to say and what not to commit to parchment, and as a minister rather than a sovereign he knew how to efface himself behind his king. His *Life of Louis VI* establishes his own importance, but it tells us almost nothing of what he advised the king, and only in the uncompleted *Life of Louis VII*, which he probably composed after his service as regent, do we have long passages on what Suger himself said to the king.

The intimate counselor may give advice that is not taken or be the instigator of policies for which he receives neither credit nor responsibility. We cannot tell how much political or administrative ruthlessness was mixed with Suger's bonhomie. His biographer tells us that rivals and the ignorant who did not know him well “considered him too hard and unyielding and mistook his determination for brutality.”⁵³ The case of Argenteuil shows that he could act with self-righteous severity, and probably with duplicity and deception as well.

In the introduction to the *Life of Louis VI*, which he addressed to his close personal friend Bishop Josselin of Soissons, Suger declared his intention to raise a monument more lasting than bronze.⁵⁴ His extant writings fill a little more than one thick volume: the *Life of Louis VI*, to which should be added portions of a continuation on the reign of Louis VII; the books on his own administration and the consecration of the church of Saint-Denis; under thirty letters; a will and other miscellaneous documents; and, of course, charters. His learning and the influence of both the classics and Scripture are apparent in his writing, but his style is far from classical—though I would not like to join Henri

Waquet in the opinion that he lacked taste.⁵⁵ The praise that he resembled Cicero verbally—*Erat Caesar animo, sermone Cicero*—surely applies to his oratory rather than his writing.⁵⁶

Suger left three major monuments: his writings, his administrative and financial reforms, and his artistic achievements. He was a man of massive accomplishments—and a correspondingly massive sense of self. Collectively, Suger's writings constitute a sort of autobiography.⁵⁷ They do not, of course, tell us many of the things we would like to know, about his family and childhood, for instance, but they are highly personal works. The history of Louis VI is not a biography in the Suetonian sense but a political memoir, an account of deeds, *Gesta Francorum*, deeds of Suger as well as of Louis.⁵⁸

Suger left his mark on his administrative reforms in a most personal way. His testament, which bears the date of June 17, 1137, should be read side by side with *De administratione*. In addition to the anniversary service he established for himself at Saint-Denis, Suger wanted Masses for the dead to be celebrated for himself in all the dependencies of his abbey, and he wanted them to be spread throughout the week: on Mondays and Tuesdays at Argenteuil, the wealthiest of the acquisitions he claimed for Saint-Denis; on Wednesdays at Saint-Denis-de-l'Estrée, where he lived for ten years as a youth; on Thursdays at Notre-Dame-des-Champs near Corbeil, where Suger established a priory; on Fridays at Zell, which Suger had acquired in the diocese of Metz; and on Saturdays at Saint-Alexander of Lièpvre in Alsace.⁵⁹ Moreover, we learn from another source, at Saint-Denis Suger was paired with Charles the Bald for a commemoration service on the day before the nones eleven months out of the year.⁶⁰

Finally, Suger placed his mark on his church. Four of his images and seven inscriptions containing his name appeared in his church, from the entry portal to the Infancy window in the chevet. It is hard to find a clearer identification between building and patron in ecclesiastical architecture.⁶¹ Suger treated God as author of both Solomon's Temple and his own construction at Saint-Denis when he wrote, “The identity of the author and the work provides everything needed for the worker.”⁶² Though Suger claimed to be satisfied by an identification between his construction and the divine author, it is Suger's own role as “author” of his works that most impresses modern commentators and is the unifying force of this volume.

If Suger's early childhood was like that of such contemporaries as Ordericus Vitalis, then he was raised with the expectation that he would enter a monastery at an early age. As we know, he became an oblate of Saint-Denis when he was about ten. In many ways Suger's adult personality can be related to the Benedictine formation he underwent. His self-discipline and his ability to keep his thoughts and feelings to himself and to act as a loyal subordinate of an established superior were surely fostered by his early experience of the Benedictine Rule. For contrast, one need

only think of Abelard, who was raised to be a knight and did not learn to hold his competitive drives in check. Suger's toughness and determination may also be associated with his monastic training, though these qualities were in ample supply among men and women of other backgrounds as well.

Early clerical and monastic training may well have encouraged a sense of fastidiousness. Both Guibert of Nogent and Suger were repelled by excrement.⁶³ They also both expressed in their writings a horror of bloodshed. But Guibert differs from Suger in his peculiar fascination with sexuality and mutilation, topics of minimal interest for the abbot of Saint-Denis.⁶⁴ The two men were similar, however, in their support of monarchy and fatherland. Both found surrogate parents in institutional form and placed the king in something of the role of a natural father.⁶⁵ Suger, moreover, treated Saint-Denis as an ever-nourishing, never-failing mother.

The most obvious contrast between Guibert and Suger is in their effectiveness. Both were abbots and prolific authors, but with respect to the affairs of the world Guibert appears as a timid and ineffective neurotic, Suger as a first minister of self-confidence, power, and achievement. One would be unjustified in saying simply that a secure institutional mother is better than a crippling real one, but we may conclude that either during that childhood of which we know nothing or as an oblate and young

monk Suger acquired a healthy dose of self-esteem.⁶⁶

The contrast between Suger and Bernard of Clairvaux is one of attitude and belief rather than of psychological strength. Unlike Bernard, Suger's monastic formation began before he entered puberty and adolescence. To the best of our knowledge he experienced no crisis of sudden conversion from the world. Indeed, he grew up in an environment that taught the importance of penance and instilled an awed respect for the beauty and grandeur of the great abbey church of Saint-Denis. Bernard was troubled by the problems of poverty and misery in the secular world and the expenditure of Church funds on monastic glory and good living; Suger accepted the world in which he had been raised as one that should be embellished and continued. Bernard's mysticism was one of conversion from this world, Suger's one of appreciation of it; in his famous passage on his transport "from this world below to that above," Suger tells us that his contemplation began "from love of the beauty of the house of God."⁶⁷

Suger's complex personality and interests are better revealed by this volume as a whole than they can be by any single part of it. As it shows, Suger advanced and glorified himself through developing and preserving the power of the monarchy, through his writings, and through enriching, rebuilding, and decorating his church at Saint-Denis. In so doing, he left monuments far more lasting than bronze.

NOTES

1. William, *Enc. Let.* (L), p. 408. On William of Saint-Denis, who wrote both this letter and the *Vita Sugerii*, see Hubert Glaser, "Wilhelm von Saint-Denis," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 85 (1965): 257–322; André Wilmart, "Le Dialogue apologétique du moine Guillaume, biographe de Suger," *Revue Mabillon* 32 (1942): 80–118; and Edmond-René Labande, "Quelques mots à propos d'une lettre de Guillaume de Saint-Denis," *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune* (Gembloux, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 23–25, and "Vaux en Châtelleraudis vu par un moine du XII^e siècle: Guillaume de Saint-Denis," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 12 (1969): 15–24. By specifying that Suger died during the performance of his final prayers, the encyclical letter establishes a comparison with the founder of Benedictine monasticism, who also died while praying, as Fr. Chrysogonus Waddell has pointed out to me. See *Gregorii Magni Dialogi*, Bk. 2, chap. 37, ed. Umberto Moricca (Rome, 1924), p. 132, line 16: *Spiritum inter verba orationis efflavit*; and also Damien Sicard, *La Liturgie de la mort dans l'Eglise latine des origines à la*

réforme carolingienne (Munster, 1978), p. 50.

2. On the date of Suger's death see Achille Luchaire, "Sur la chronologie des documents et des faits relatifs à l'histoire de Louis VII pendant l'année 1150," *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux*, 4 (1882): 284–312; and Cartellieri, *Suger*, pp. 170–74, and for the date of his consecration, pp. 129–30, no. 24.
3. Charles Higounet, *La Grange de Vaulerent, Les Hommes et la terre*, 10 (Paris, 1956), p. 11.
4. On Suger's family, see the Appendix.
5. Auguste Molinier, ed., *Obituaires de la province de Sens, Tome I (Diocèses de Sens et de Paris)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1902), pp. 332 (Nov. 28) and 349 (Sept. 4); for Helinand see also p. 325 (Sept. 4). The name of Suger's mother may appear in the necrology of Saint-Denis without any further identification, as does that of Helinand, but if it does, we have no way to know.
6. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), pp. 208–10: "*matrem ecclesiam, que a mamilla gratissimo liberalitatis sue gremio dulcissime fovere non destiterat*"; p. 210: "*ad matrem ecclesiam, Deo opitulante, pervenissimus, tam dulciter, tam filialiter, tam nobiliter filium prodigum suscepit*"; Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 156 or Suger, *Adm.* (P), p. 40: "*a*

- corpore ecclesiae beatissimorum martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii, quae nos quam dulcissime a mamilla usque in senectam fovit*"; Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 190 or Suger, *Adm.* (P), p. 50: "*matris ecclesiae honorem, quae puerum materno affectu lactaverat*."
7. Jules Tardif, *Monuments historiques* (Paris, 1866), pp. 221–22, no. 397. For a discussion of this text and my argument that the sons of Suger Magnus were cousins of Abbot Suger, see the Appendix.
 8. On Simon see notes 22 and 31 here and the Appendix. William established Suger's anniversary service at Notre-Dame with an endowment of sixty *livres*, a solid indication of his gratitude to his uncle; Molinier, *Obituaires*, p. 99 (Jan. 16). The chancellor Simon was probably that Simon of Saint-Denis, deacon and canon of Notre-Dame, who had nephews named Suger, William, and Herluin; *ibid.*, pp. 177–78. For Eugene's letter of consolation to Suger, see Martin Bouquet, ed., *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols. (Paris, 1738–1904), vol. 15 (1878), p. 456. Girard is mentioned in Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 157.
 9. An act of 1175, in Joseph Depoin, *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, 5 vols. (Ligugé and Paris, 1913–21), vol. 2, p. 342, no. 426 bis, includes among its witnesses: "*S. Simonis de Sancto Dionisio. S. magistri Hilduini, fratris eius . . . S. Guillelmi de Sancto Dionisio . . . S. Herluini, nepotis prefate Simonis*." Molinier, *Obituaires*, pp. xxvi–xxvii, notes the probable relationship between Simon of Saint-Denis and Abbot Hugh. As his patronymic shows, Hugh was the son of someone named Foucaldus. Possibly Simon and Hilduin were the sons of Suger's brother Girard, who held a house from Saint-Denis. Panofsky misunderstands both the historical facts and the obligations a man of influence owed his relatives when he says, "Suger kept them at a friendly distance and, later on, made them participate, in a small way, in the life of the Abbey" (Panofsky, *Suger*, p. 30).
 10. Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 196 or Suger, *Adm.* (P), p. 60.
 11. Suger, *Cb.* (L), p. 339. On the location of Saint-Denis de l'Estrée, see *Oeuvres de Julien Havet*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1896), vol. 1, p. 215.
 12. Letter of Suger to Eugene III in Suger, *Let.* (L), p. 264. Waquet, *Vie*, p. vi, suggests Marmoutier, or possibly Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire.
 13. "*Gentilium vero poetarum ob tenacem memoriam oblivisci usque-que non poterat, ut versus Horatianos utile aliquid continentes usque ad vicanos, saepe etiam ad tricenos, memoriter nobis recitaret*" (William, *Vita Sug.* [L], p. 381). This passage shows us what a monk of the first half of the twelfth century found impressive. While the ability to recite twenty or thirty lines of any poet is rarely found today, by classical or nineteenth-century standards Suger's achievement was not so great. Marcel Aubert was so little impressed by what he read that in recall he inflated the figures. "*Il était capable de réciter de mémoire des passages entiers—200 à 300 vers, dit son biographe Guillaume—d'Horace, qui était un de ses auteurs préférés*"; see his *Suger, Figures monastiques* (Abbaye S. Wandrille, 1950), p. 51.
 14. Suger writes of his service at Berneval and Toury in *Adm.* (L), pp. 170, 184–85; for the other events, consult the index of Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W).
 15. "*Presente itaque venerabili abbate prefate ecclesie Sugerio, quem fidelem et familiarem in consiliis nostris habebamus . . .*" (Tardif, *Monuments*, p. 217, no. 391). On the terms *fidelis* and *familiaris* see Eric Bournazel, *Le Gouvernement capétien au XII^e siècle, 1108–1180*, pp. 147–51; and his essay in this volume, p. 58. For the events discussed in this paragraph, consult the index of Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W).
 16. "*. . . patri spiritali et nutritori meo*" (Suger, *Vita Lud.* [W], p. 208).
 17. Bernard, Ep. 78. 4 in Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais, eds., *S. Bernardi opera*, 8 vols. (Rome, 1957–77), vol. 7, p. 203; the full letter is on pp. 201–10; Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, ed. Jacques Monfrin (Paris, 1978), p. 81, ll. 654–57.
 18. The money for the anniversary of Dagobert came from Berneval, and Suger probably played a part in the creation of this festivity. See Robert Barroux, "L'Anniversaire de la mort de Dagobert à Saint-Denis au XII^e siècle: Charte inédite de l'abbé Adam," *Bulletin philologique et historique*, 1942–43 (1945): 131–51. See Abelard's Ep. 7 to Heloise, ed. Joseph T. Muckle in *Medieval Studies* 17 (1955): 269: "O brothers and fellow monks, you who each day, contrary to the teaching of the Rule and your [or our] profession, shamefully slaver for meat. . . ."
 19. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), p. 212. On Suger's reform, see Giles Constable's essay in this volume, pp. 17–32. Constable describes the features of Suger's Saint-Denis as "an orderly but not uncomfortable life," "a long liturgy," and "a concern for conspicuous display"; see p. 20.
 20. William, *Vita Sug.* (L), p. 389.
 21. Bernard, Ep. 78.6 in *Opera*, vol. 7, p. 205.
 22. Robert-Henri Bautier considers Suger the responsible party in this event and places it in the context of other political struggles of the time in "Paris au temps d'Abélard," *Abélard en son temps*, Actes du colloque international, 14–19 mai 1979 (Paris, 1983), pp. 68–69. Though in general I find Bautier's innovative reconstruction of the politics of the time compelling, on this point his case is reasonable but not proven. As evidence that Suger benefited directly from Garlande's expulsion from the chancellorship, Bautier states without supporting documentation that the chancellor named Simon who replaced him between 1128 and 1132 was Suger's nephew Simon. Except for the name, I can find nothing to identify this Simon with Suger's nephew, who was chancellor at the end of Suger's life. See Achille Luchaire, *Études sur les actes de Louis VII* (1885; reprint, Brussels, 1964), p. 56 on Simon as chancellor in 1150–51, and Françoise Gasparri, *L'Écriture des actes de Louis VI, Louis VII, et Philippe Auguste* (Geneva, 1973), p. 14 n. 3, who says: "*Après 1127, la Chancellerie fut dirigée par un certain 'Simon'*." If I am correct that Suger's nephew was Simon of Saint-Denis, who died between 1178 and 1180, then he would have had to become chancellor as a very young man to take office in 1128.
 23. The point is developed by Bautier, "Paris," p. 71. On Suger's involvement in the affair of Morigny and Saint-Martin of Étampes-lès-Vielles, see Léon Mirot, ed., *La Chronique de Morigny*, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire, 2d ed. (Paris, 1912), pp. 46–47.
 24. Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 160–61; and Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), pp. 216–18.

25. The charter and the related documents of 1129 are in the thirteenth-century *Cartulaire blanc de Saint-Denis*, Paris, Archives nationales, LL 1158, fols. 278–79. It is printed in *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 7, inst. 8–9; see Johann Friedrich Böhmer and Engelbert Mühlbacher, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern, 751–918*, 2d ed. (Innsbruck, 1908), p. 332, no. 848 (822). Diplomatically the text is appropriate for an act of about 828, though the date is omitted. André Lesort, “Argenteuil,” *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique* 4 (1930): 22–24, shows that no other document from before 1129 gives an indication that Argenteuil ever belonged or should belong to Saint-Denis, though he does not conclude that the text is a forgery, a matter which seems self-evident to Bautier, “Paris,” p. 71. One should compare the charter with the story Suger tells in Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 160, where the information Suger gives must come either from some other record than the document in the cartulary or from Suger's imagination. Thomas Waldman has made a strong argument that the charter is a forgery in “Abbot Suger and the Nuns of Argenteuil,” to appear in *Traditio* 41 (1985). If he is, as I think, correct, one must wonder how often Suger resorted to such dishonesty. See Robert Barroux, “L'Abbé Suger et la vassalité du Vexin en 1124. La levée de l'oriflamme, la Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin et la fausse donation de Charlemagne à Saint-Denis de 813,” *Le Moyen Age* 64 (1958): 1–26; and the essay by Eric Bournazel in this volume, pp. 61–66.
26. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), p. 218.
27. Molinier, *Louis le Gros*, p. vii; Panofsky, *Suger*, p. 11; and Waquet, *Vie*, p. viii–ix. Aubert, *Suger*, p. 83, states more soundly, “De 1127 à la mort du roi en 1137, Suger ne quitte guère le palais.”
28. Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 158.
29. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), pp. 280–82.
30. “*Quibus tam pene desperantibus cum ego ipse, velud exprobando, numquam Franciam repudiatam vacasse respondissem, pusillanimitate nimia uterque decessit*” (Suger, *Frag. Lud.* [M], p. 150).
31. On the offices of chancellor and seneschal, see Luchaire, *Études*, pp. 44–46, 52. John of Salisbury tells us that after Suger's death the king and Odo of Deuil, the new abbot of Saint-Denis, both took steps to humble Suger's relatives, and that his nephew Simon lost his position as chancellor because of his “hateful name” (“*ex suspicione nominis odiosi cancellarium regis amiserat*”). Playing on the name of Simon, one may suspect a charge of simony. See John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, ed. and trans., Marjorie Chibnall, Medieval Texts (London, 1956), p. 87. On the crisis of Abbot Odo's first years of rule, see Glaser, “Wilhelm,” pp. 300–321.
32. On the king's activities see Marcel Pacaut, *Louis VII et son royaume* (Paris, 1964), pp. 42–46. Cartellieri's register shows how limited the demonstrable contacts were between Suger and the king from late 1140 to 1143 or early 1144. Pacaut admirably clarifies the twists of royal policy by a narrative which shows Suger's loss of power, though he may go too far in saying that “Suger fût disgracié” (p. 41). Aubert, *Suger*, p. 96, also refers to “une funeste disgrâce.” Disgrace is a public matter, and it is striking that no contemporary author refers to the fall from favor and influence discussed here. I do not, however, go as far as Bournazel (p. 59 in his essay in this volume), who asserts that Suger suffered no diminution of power at all.
33. See Clark Maines's essay in this volume, pp. 77–94.
34. Suger, *Ord.* (P), pp. 122–37. The engrossment of the present copy of Suger's will may date from the same period; see note 58 here.
35. *The Life of Louis VI* was written before *De administratione*, which was begun in 1144 but not completed before the end of 1148. See Waquet, *Vie*, p. xi; and Panofsky, *Suger*, p. 142.
36. “. . . tam a populo quam principe pater appellatus est patriae” (William, *Vita Sug.* [L], p. 398). On Suger's regency and his conflicts with Ralph of Vermandois, Cadurc, and Robert of Dreux, see Pacaut, *Louis VII*, pp. 57–58. Suger's special role as papal representative in overseeing the kingdom during Louis's absence is highlighted by Aryeh Grabois, “Le Privilège de croisade et la régence de Suger,” *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4th ser., 42 (1964): 458–65.
37. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), pp. 222–26.
38. In a letter to Geoffrey of Anjou and Empress Matilda: “*Quod si nobis credi dignaretur, non recordamur pacem aliquam viginti annis cum domino rege Francorum eum fecisse, cui fideliter et praecipue inter omnes operam jugem et fidelem non adhibuerimus, sicut ille qui ab utroque domino credebatur*” (Suger, *Let.* [L], p. 265).
39. Note his own account of urging Louis VII to show clemency to the people of Poitiers in Suger, *Frag. Lud.* (M), pp. 152–54.
40. “. . . votivam in hostes parabat ultionem, tanto bylaris, tanto letabundus, quanto eos subita strage, inopinata ultione, inopinatam injuriam strenue ulcisci contingeret” (Suger, *Vita Lud.* [W], p. 158). For the calculation of the number of appearances of the word *ultio* and an analysis of Suger's thought on the subject, see Claude Aboucaya, “Politique et répression criminelle dans l'oeuvre de Suger,” *Mélanges Roger Aubenas* (Montpellier, 1974), pp. 9–24 (number cited on p. 18).
41. Suger, *Ord.* (P), p. 122. See also the essay by Clark Maines in this volume, pp. 77–94.
42. Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 186 or Suger, *Adm.* (P), p. 44.
43. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), p. 58: *laici manibus gladio sanguinolentis*; p. 60: *sanguine fuso . . . vias* (quotation from Lucan); p. 62: *corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi*; p. 92: *humani sanguinis sitibundus*; p. 116: *se totam sanguineam contrectans*; p. 118: *uno sanguine involutos, saturatus humano sanguine*; and so forth.
44. Ep. 23, “. . . pacem superiorem et inferiorem a Rege regum et rege Francorum” (Suger, *Let.* [L], p. 277).
45. *Corpore, gente brevis, gemina brevitate coactus,
In brevitate sua nolit esse brevis.*
See Lecoy, *Oeuvres*, p. 422, or *PL*, vol. 185, cols. 1253–54. I have here used Panofsky's translation in *Suger*, p. 33. The poem was commissioned, not by the king, but almost certainly by Count Henry the Liberal, a final mark of Suger's special relationship with the house of Blois-Champagne. See my “The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center,” *Speculum* 36 (1961): 570. According to William, “*Erat quidem corpus breve sortitus et gracile, sed et labor assiduus plurimum detraxerat viribus*” (*Vita Sug.* [L], p. 388).

46. *Emulus* and *emuli* appear often, however. On *superbia* and *effrenis elatio* see Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), pp. 182–84.
47. "... *gloriose, humiliter, sed strenue ecclesie jura disponens*" (ibid., pp. 202–4).
48. "... *tuus ille scilicet habitus et apparatus cum procederes, quod paulo insolentior appareret*" (Bernard, Ep. 78, *Opera*, vol. 7, p. 203). It is often suggested that Bernard had Suger in mind when about 1125 he wrote in the *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem*, XI, 27, of an abbot traveling with a retinue of sixty or more horses; *Opera*, vol. 3, p. 103.
49. Panofsky, *Suger*, p. 35. I have been strongly influenced by Panofsky's brilliant introduction, which nevertheless now seems to me too uncomplicated and positive.
50. "... *ut erat jocundissimus*" (William, *Vita Sug.* [L], p. 389).
51. Historians frequently contrast Suger's description of the defeat at Brémule in Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), pp. 196–98 with that given by Ordericus Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969–80), vol. 6, pp. 234–42 (in Le Prévost's edition, vol. 4, pp. 354–56).
52. William, *Vita Sug.* (L), pp. 381–83, 405. William tells us that Suger explained his reluctance to discharge his agents, except in major cases and for manifest dereliction, by reasoning that "those who are removed carry off what they can, and their replacements, fearing the same thing, speed up their looting": "*dum et hi qui amoveantur quae possunt auferant et substituti, quia idem metuunt, ad rapinas festinent*" (p. 383).
53. "... *durum nimis aestimabant et rigidum, et quod erat constantiae, feritati deputabant*" (William, *Vita Sug.* [L], p. 383).
54. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), p. 4.
55. "*Suger manque totalement de goût*" (Waquet, *Vie*, p. xvi).
56. William, *Vita Sug.* (L), p. 388.
57. Georg Misch recognized this; see his *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, 4 vols. in 8 (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1949–69), vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 316–87.
58. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), p. 68. Time and again we find *et nos ipsi interfuimus* (p. 52); *et nos fuimus* (p. 56); *nos autem* (p. 145); *per nos* (p. 260); *apud nos* (p. 262); and so forth. Gabrielle Spiegel concludes in *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis* (Brookline, Mass., 1978), p. 45, that "from the time of Suger's abbacy royal historiography becomes the central intellectual activity of Saint-Denis in service to the French crown."
59. The testament is published in Suger, *Ch.* (L), pp. 333–41. The original is in the Musée des Archives nationales (A.N. K 22, no 97—AE II 145), and there is an excellent photograph in *Mémoires de l'histoire de France* (Paris: Archives nationales, 1980), no. 10. Though it is dated 17 June 1137, when Suger was on the point of leaving for Bordeaux, the document cannot have been written in this form before 1139, or more likely 1140, since Samson of Reims is named as a witness with the title of archbishop. See Achille Luchaire, *Annales de la vie de Louis VI* (1890; reprint, Brussels, 1964), pp. 264–65. Probably Suger wrote a draft of his will before he left on a major expedition and had it engrossed after his return.
60. Molinier, *Obituaires*, pp. 306, 309, 311, 313, 316, 318, 321, 323, 325, 330, 332. On October 6 Charles the Bald had his anniversary service to himself: "*Ob Karolus imperator tertius et cultor beati pretiosique martyris Dionysii studiosissimus monasterii*" (p. 328). Suger does not mention his own name in his ordinance concerning the reestablishment of the commemoration of Charles the Bald; see Suger, *Ord.* (P), pp. 128–32.
61. See Misch, *Autobiographie*, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 365–76; and Panofsky, *Suger*, p. 29. For these inscriptions and their placement, see the essay by Clark Maines in this volume, pp. 85–86.
62. "*Identitas auctoris et operis sufficientiam facit operantis*" (Suger, *Cons.* [P], p. 90).
63. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), p. 248.
64. In a matter-of-fact reference to castration and blinding, Suger treats the punishment as "merciful," since the subject merited death; see ibid., p. 190.
65. On Guibert's patriotism and personality see my introduction to *Self and Society in Medieval France: The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent* (1970; reprint, Toronto, 1984), pp. 9–31.
66. For one current view of the development of healthy self-esteem, see Heinz Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self* (New York, 1971), pp. 107–9. But it is hard for historians to make practical use of Kohut's insights, since he treats "a gifted person's ego" as an exception to his rule, and in Suger's case it is precisely the ego of a gifted person we are trying to explain. Moreover, analysts are far from agreement on the explanation of conflicts about self-worth and esteem; see, for example, the pertinent questions raised by Leo Rangell in "The Self in Psychoanalytic Theory," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 30 (1982): 871–72.
67. Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 198 or Suger, *Adm.* (P), pp. 62–64. On Suger "as an architect who *builds* theology," see Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, 2d ed. (New York, 1962), p. 124–33.

APPENDIX: SUGER'S RELATIONS AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

Charles Higounet was the first to come upon the evidence of a Suger family at Chennevières-lès-Louvres and to suggest that it provided an indication "of the background and family ties of the abbot of Saint-Denis." While preparing his thorough study of *La Grange de Vaulerent*, Higounet explored the rich archives of the abbey of Chaalis, now in the Archives départementales de l'Oise, and the unedited cartulary of Chaalis at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. He found that a certain *Sigerius* appeared as a witness to a donation recorded in an act of 1145 (which also recorded another donation witnessed by *Sigerius, abbas Sancti Dyonisii*), that he had a brother Ralph and a son, John Suger (who appeared in an act of 1169), and that other men used the family name Suger in the thirteenth century. To the suggestive character of this name he added a thirteenth-century reference to a *Campus Sugerii* and a document of 1183 citing rights "*in quodam frustra terre que Sugerius magnus excolebat*."¹

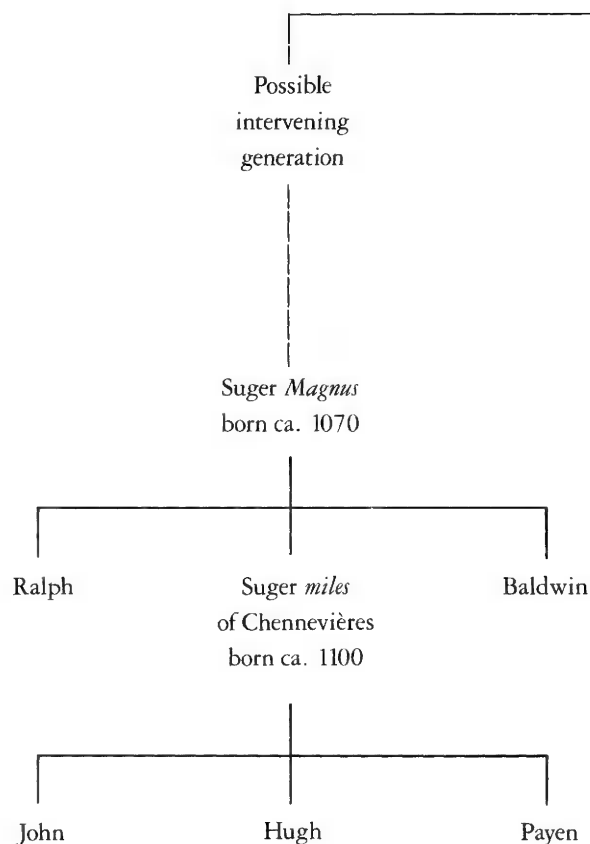
Since Higounet was studying the grange of Vaulerent and not the abbot of Saint-Denis and his family, he did no more than raise the question of a possible connection between these texts and Abbot Suger. It has not been difficult to find reasons for dismissing Higounet's discovery and his suggestion of a connection with the family of the abbot. The *Sigerius* of the charter of 1145 could have been a godson of the abbot, or the identity of names could be a simple coincidence; and the *Sugerius magnus* of the charter of 1183 could be the *Sigerius* of 1145 or any local, otherwise unknown Suger. Historians concerned with Abbot Suger have either ignored Higounet or treated his material as inconclusive.²

When examined more closely and placed in a larger context, however, these documents from Chaalis can be seen as more significant than Higounet suggested. I have consulted and cited here those original charters I could find in the Archives de l'Oise at Beauvais, but for the convenience of the reader I have also given references to the late-fourteenth-century cartulary of Chaalis, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 11003, and the eighteenth-century copies of the charters of Chaalis in the Collection Moreau in the same library. From these texts and the charter naming Suger's companions on his trip to Germany in 1125, the genealogy on pp. 12–13 can be constructed. I will now present these documents in a systematic fashion.

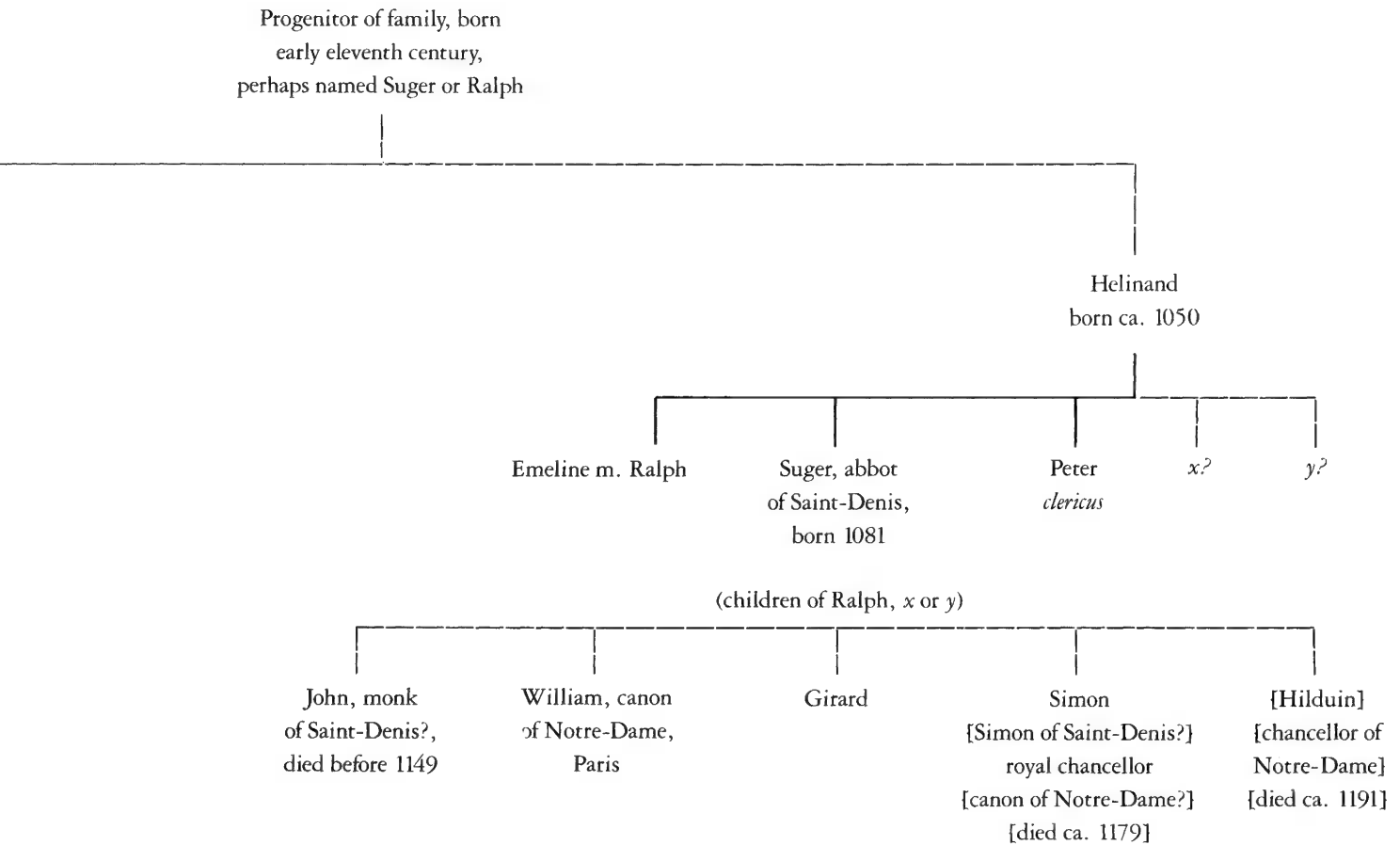
1. Witnesses on behalf of Suger in a charter of Mainard, count of Mosbach, at Mainz in 1125: "*Ex parte abbatibus testes sunt: Bartholomeus capellanus suus, Petrus clericus frater suus, Stephanus miles suus de Balbiniaco, Hugo de Sancto Dionysio, Radulfus filius Sugerii, Petrus de Dommartino, Sugerius miles . . .*" The charter is published by Tardif, *Monuments*, pp. 221–22, no. 397.
2. Undated *pancarte* of Theobald, bishop of Paris, to which a modern archivist has assigned the date of 1145 on the back of the charter. This general confirmation includes notices of a number of donations to Chaalis, with witnesses to those actions. Among the donations are:

(a) Donation by *Rogerius Escotins de Sancto Dyonisio* and his wife, *Lupa*, of a piece of land in the territory of Vaulerent and Villeron. Witnesses: *Sigerius, abbas Sancti Dyonisii; Stephanus de Balbiniaco*. After Roger's death *Lupa* confirmed this donation. Witnesses: *Sigerius, abbas Sancti Dyonisii; Willelmus, subprior Sancti Dyonisii; Galterius de Pompona; Lethardus de Sancto Dyonisio*.

(b) *Sigerius, miles de Canaveris (sic)*, gave land in the territory of Chennevières, *laudantibus et concedentibus Johanne, Hugone et Pagano, filiis suis; Radulfo et Balduino, fratribus suis*. There is also a reference to a daughter of *Sigerius* as a nun at Jouarre. *Sigerius* held the land in fief from *Albertus, miles de Canaveris (sic)*, who had a wife named Agnes and sons named Girard, Hugh, and Theobald.



APPENDIX: HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF SUGER'S FAMILY



- (c) *Antelmus de Pissicoc, miles*, and his wife, *Comitissa*, and mother, *Adcelina*, made a donation in the territory of Epiais. Among the witnesses were: *Radulfus, miles de Vilers; Sigerius et Johannes filius eius de Canaveris (sic)*. The sealed original of this act is in the Archives de l'Oise, H 5514. It is summarized in the cartulary, no. 635, fols. 188r–88v, and there is an eighteenth-century copy in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Moreau, vol. 60, fols. 256r–67r.
3. An undated *pancarte* of Manasses, bishop of Meaux, makes known the same donation as that recorded in 2a and names the same witnesses, including the two appearances of *Sigerius, abbas Sancti Dionysii*. The original of this charter is in the Archives de l'Oise, H 5515. There is an eighteenth-century copy in the Collection Moreau, vol. 66, fols. 143r–44r.
 4. *Pancarte* of Maurice, bishop of Paris, dated 1163.
 - (a) *Adam de Claceu (sic)* and *Bartholomeus de Curbarun* made a donation of land in the territory of *Tarentenfossa*. Among the witnesses: *Sigerius de Chanaveriis*.
 - (b) *Girardus, miles de Chanaveriis*, on his deathbed, made a donation with the approval of his wife, Mathilda, of land at *Hemerias* in the territory of Chennevières. Among the witnesses: *Gautherius Becherel, avunculus suus*. The sealed original is in the Archives de l'Oise, H 5255; it is excerpted in the cartulary no. 621, fols. 185r–85v, and there is an eighteenth-century copy in the Collection Moreau, vol. 72, fols. 116r–17r.
 5. Maurice, bishop of Paris, makes known in an act of 1169 that *Johannes, filius Sugerii de Canaveriis* made a donation to Chaalis of 23 *denarii parisienses*. The act is in the cartulary, no. 644, fol. 194v. I have not been able to find the original or a later copy of this act.
 6. In a *pancarte* of 1171, Maurice, bishop of Paris, makes known a donation by *Antelmus Scotus*. Witnesses: *Petrus, sacerdos de Villerun; Guido de Vilerun; Raimbertus cementarius; Sigerius de Chanaveriis; Willelmus de Chanaveriis*. Among the witnesses to another donation is *Johannes, filius Sigerii de Chanaveris (sic)*. The original charter is in the Archives de l'Oise, H 5517, and there is an eighteenth-century copy in the Collection Moreau, vol. 77, fol. 108r.
 7. In an act of 1172, Maurice, bishop of Paris, settles a conflict between the abbey of Chaalis and two knights of Chennevières, John and his brother Hugh, over land given by *Sigerius de Canaveriis (sic) et Radulfus frater eius*. The sealed original is in the Archives de l'Oise, H 5257; it is excerpted in the cartulary, no. 623, fol. 186v, and there is an eighteenth-century copy in the Collection Moreau, vol. 78, fol. 43r.
 8. In an act of 1183, Maurice, bishop of Paris, makes known a donation by *Hugo de Bosco, miles*, in the territory of Vieux-Chennevières, of a "*campipartem et domum in quodam frustrum terre quam Sigerius magnus excolebat*." The act is in the Collection Moreau, vol. 87, fols. 17r–18r [citing Archives de Chaalis, Vaulerent, liasse 2, no. 27 (or 21) al. 3 L] and is excerpted in the cartulary, no. 687, fol. 200v. I was not able to find the original in the Archives de l'Oise or in the Collection de Picardie in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

From these documents we can establish that Suger, *miles* of Chennevières, had already produced three sons by 1145, John, Hugh, and Payen, and that he had a daughter who was a nun at Jouarre. Of the three brothers, Ralph, Suger, and Baldwin, only Suger appears to have had children. It seems likely that Baldwin was the youngest brother, but the birth order of Suger and Ralph is not made clear from these charters from Chaalis. Ralph was not named as a witness in any of the documents which can be dated after 1145. He may have died not long after that date, and his name may appear with that of Suger in the later charters only because they had once held land in common. Suger *miles* was alive in 1172 and probably entered Chaalis or died soon thereafter.

It should be noted that these documents provide no evidence to support Higounet's suggestion that Girard and William of Chennevières were members of the same family as the brothers Ralph and Suger.

The information that Higounet needed to clinch the case for a family relationship (but did not note) was that in 1125 Abbot Suger traveled to Germany with his brother and with Ralph, son of Suger, and a knight named Suger. I do not consider it unwarranted to conclude that Ralph and the knight Suger were the two brothers who appear in the charters of Chaalis, since the name Suger is most extremely rare. If this is the case, then we can extend the genealogy back a further generation to a progenitor named Suger. Ralph was probably the elder son, and his brother Suger would have been quite a young man in 1125, since he lived into the 1170s. The *Sugerius magnus* of the charter of 1183 was probably this first known Suger. If the knight Suger was born about 1100 and was a younger son, his father may have been born about 1070.

This late-eleventh-century Suger, whom we may tentatively call *Magnus*, may be the same man who appeared along with his brother Payen as a witness to a charter of Saint-Martin-des-Champs of about 1105, where both men are identified as nephews of Peter Orphelin.³ The identification again rests on the extreme rarity of the name Suger, and it is strengthened by the fact that the name Payen appears again in the family among the sons of

Suger of Chennevières. If this is the case, then the family that interests us was connected, perhaps by marriage, with the Orphelins of Annet-sur-Marne, who in turn had connections with the Garlandes. Indeed, William of Garlande was one of the witnesses to the charter of about 1105, which was issued by Peter Sanglier.⁴

There are two reasons for considering that Suger of Chennevières was a cousin of Abbot Suger. We know that the abbot had a brother named Ralph (probably an older brother, since he married) and, given the logic of naming practices, it is likely that he had an ancestor or uncle named Suger after whom he was named. The pairing of the brothers Ralph and Suger (and probably in that order) in the two families strongly suggests that they were related. Secondly, the fact that Abbot Suger traveled to Germany with a Ralph and a Suger, whom we may now associate with Chennevières, adds strongly to the conviction that they were related. Suger had only been abbot for three years, and for his German expedition he needed to take with him men he could count on. One was his brother, Peter, and another was Stephen of Bogny, *miles suus*, who appeared again with him as a witness to the donation of Roger Scot recorded in 1145 (in 2a and 3 above). That Ralph, son of Suger, and *Sugerius miles* were relatives of Abbot Suger is by far the most likely explanation of their presence.

The same rough calculation that places the birth of Suger *Magnus*, the father of Ralph and Suger *miles*, at about 1070

would place the birth of Abbot Suger's father, Helinand, at about 1050. These two men were presumably related in the male line. Helinand and the elder Suger may have been brothers (possibly with a father named Ralph or Suger), or another generation may have intervened, making Helinand the uncle of the elder Suger. Since Helinand is a name that does not appear again in either family, it seems likely that he was a younger son.

If we may consider this relationship between two branches of one family as securely established, we learn two things about the immediate family of Abbot Suger. One is that he came from the lower ranks of the knightly class, since it is unlikely that Helinand was significantly higher in the social scale than his cousins. Ralph and Suger of Chennevières were wealthy enough for both to hold the title of *miles*, but the knights of Chennevières were clearly minor landholders who shared property in a village of no great importance, and the younger Suger was himself a vassal of a minor knight, Albert of Chennevières. It is tantalizing not to be sure what land was held by Ralph, son of Suger. The family may well have held scattered estates in the region immediately to the north of Paris. Though we do not know where Helinand held property and where the future abbot was born and raised, the second conclusion we can draw is that Suger's family was most likely established not far from the cousins of Chennevières, somewhere within ten or fifteen miles of the abbey of Saint-Denis.

NOTES

1. Higounet, *La Grange*, p. 12, and see document no. 8 here. I have gratefully made use of the citations given by Higounet and repeat some of them here, but the reader who compares our references will see that I have been able to expand his documentation.
2. Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 34, no. 80, cites Higounet's evidence and first drew it to my attention, but concludes, "The

most probable hypothesis is that he was born at Saint-Denis or Argenteuil."

3. Depoin, *Recueil*, vol. 1, p. 166, no. 104. Depoin's edition contains helpful prosopographical notes.
4. The possible connection between the Suger of this charter and the family of Abbot Suger was first pointed out by Bournazel, *Gouvernement capétien*, p. 72. On the connection with the Garlandes, see also pp. 35–36.

I.

MONASTIC LIFE

Suger's Monastic Administration

Giles Constable

SUGER'S ACTIVITY as abbot of Saint-Denis is easily overshadowed by his achievements as statesman, builder, and author. Over a century ago a historian of Saint-Denis said that the basilica was generally better known than the monastery,¹ and the same may be said today of its most famous abbot. Yet Suger's abbacy, which lasted from 1122 until 1151, can be compared in importance to those of his contemporaries Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable, who died in 1153 and 1156 respectively. It covered one of the most active periods in the history of monasticism in the West, which saw not only the emergence of new religious orders and the foundation of countless new houses but also the transformation of many old monasteries. Even a great independent abbey like Saint-Denis, though to some extent insulated from the winds of change by its prestige and wealth, was influenced by these developments, and Suger's abbacy not only provided the background for his other activities but also marked a stage in the history of Saint-Denis itself.

In this paper I shall look at Suger's monastic administration under the three headings of discipline, economy, and organization. "His special purpose and desire," wrote his biographer, William of Saint-Denis, in the encyclical letter written after his death, "was constantly to raise the noble monastery of Saint-Denis to every glory and honor, to arrange things in a religious manner [*religiose*], and to make the church rich in revenues, better endowed with buildings, [and] adorned with ornaments."² These specific aspects of his administration, however, should be seen in the light of his general background and policy.

Most important is the fact that he brought to all his work a wide and varied knowledge of monastic and secular affairs. Although he entered Saint-Denis as a boy, at about age ten, he seems not to have suffered from the narrow type of education of-

ten given to oblates and *nutriti*, who were raised entirely in monasteries and were not uncommonly regarded as unsuited for positions of responsibility.³ He attended at least two schools, where he may have met the future King Louis VI of France, and as a young man he was present at several important meetings, including one at La Charité-sur-Loire, where, aged twenty-six, he defended Saint-Denis against the claims of the bishop of Paris before Pope Paschal II,⁴ and also at the Lateran synod of 1112.⁵ Meanwhile he served as provost both at Berneval-le-Grand, near Dieppe, and then at Toury, near Chartres, and thus gained experience in two regions that were subject at that time to different rulers. As provost of Toury he witnessed the charter that made provision for feeding the poor at Saint-Denis during the famine of 1111,⁶ and he participated in the measures taken by Louis VI to subjugate Hugh of Le Puiset in 1111–12.⁷ He represented the king before Pope Gelasius II in 1118 and before Calixtus II in 1121–22. By the time he was chosen abbot of Saint-Denis, in March 1122, he was an experienced man of affairs.

Contemporaries were unanimous in praising his ability as an administrator. William of Saint-Denis singled out his *sapientia*, *strenuitas*, *industria*, *magnanimitas*, and *prudentia* in his encyclical letter, where he said of Suger, "In him flourished not only a natural felicity of memory but also the highest art for understanding what needed to be done and cared for."⁸ In his *Vita*, written a few years later, William praised his *liberalitas*, *misericordia* and *compassio*, *animositas*, *constantia* and *iustitia*, *prudentia*, *probitas*, and *moderatio* and wrote that "when he ruled in the monastery, he also ruled in the palace, and he administered both in such a way that neither did the court keep him from the care of the cloister nor did the monastery excuse him from the counsels of princes."⁹ He also emphasized Suger's good sense and moderation, comment-

ing, "He did not lightly remove his subordinates from their positions without sure and great reasons and [assurance of their] clear guilt," and that he punished sinners "not so much because they had sinned but in order that they should sin no more."¹⁰

William had been Suger's secretary and was naturally biased in the abbot's favor, but the confidence put in Suger by successive popes and kings shows that this praise was not undeserved.¹¹ He was described in the chronicle of Morigny as "a man second to none in the management of secular affairs" at the time the king gave him "the provision of the kingdom" during the Second Crusade,¹² and Bernard of Clairvaux recommended Suger to Pope Eugene III as "faithful and prudent in temporal affairs and fervent in spiritual affairs and humble in both."¹³

In his youth Suger learned two basic administrative lessons that seem to have served him throughout his life. The first was to go to the highest authorities when in need of support. Whenever possible he brought in the king or pope, or at least an archbishop or bishop, on the side of his abbey when it was involved in a dispute. He repeatedly stressed in his writings the special relationship between Saint-Denis and the kings of France,¹⁴ whose anniversaries were celebrated there with special solemnity. Even before he became abbot, Suger may have been instrumental in establishing at Saint-Denis the commemoration of the anniversary of Dagobert, the first king to be buried there; and in his *Vita* of Louis VI he turned the decision made by Louis's father, Philip I, to be buried at Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire into a compliment to Saint-Denis, where his burial, Suger said, "would not have been anything great among so many noble kings."¹⁵ Elsewhere in this work he referred both to the king's special friendship for Saint-Denis and to the role of Saint Denis as the patron and protector, after God, of France.¹⁶ In a charter of 1124 Louis himself acknowledged his special relation with the monks of Saint-Denis, from whom he held "in fief" the county of the Vexin, of which the banner, taken from the altar of Saint-Denis, became the famous Oriflamme.¹⁷ On two charters, one in 1130 and the other in 1131, "the lord king of the Franks and the venerable brother Suger, abbot of Saint-Denis," acted together in a dispute between Saint-Denis and the monks of Saint-Désiré, and Suger often got the king to impose settlements and to confirm and enforce grants in favor of the abbey.¹⁸ He himself, in return, carefully protected the interests of the king in ecclesiastical as well as secular affairs, especially during the Second Crusade, when he confirmed several abbatial elections only on condition that the king could rehear the cases, if he wished, after his return.¹⁹

Suger also appealed to the rulers of England. In 1150 he asked the count of Anjou and Empress Mathilda to protect Berneval, his old provostship in Normandy, and Le Bocage, which King Henry I, he said, had preserved intact "even in times of war,"²⁰ and in 1144/51 Stephen wrote to Suger promising to protect

"your lands that are in my part" and to return the land "that is still in the power of my enemies."²¹ Suger also turned to the popes, stressing in his *Vita* of Louis VI the special affection of Innocent II for Saint-Denis,²² and when necessary he also called on bishops and nobles, but above all he made use of the king of France and thus linked the interests of his abbey to the rising power of the French monarchy, to which he himself so greatly contributed.

The second lesson learned by Suger in his youth and applied throughout his lifetime was not only to seek new rights and property but also to make the most of what he had. He lived at a time when the extensive grants of land that had once been given to monasteries, especially in well-established regions like the Ile-de-France, were increasingly a thing of the past.²³ This may account for the relatively small number of known charters issued by Suger (only thirteen in the edition of Lecoy de La Marche), who devoted less attention than some of his contemporaries to acquiring new possessions. His *Liber de rebus in administratione sua gestis*, written in 1145, shows how much of his effort was devoted to reestablishing old rights and making utmost use of the existing properties of Saint-Denis. According to his biographer, William, Suger had an excellent memory and a keen interest in history,²⁴ and in the *Liber* he attributed Saint-Denis's loss of many properties to the breakup of the Frankish realm and thus, by implication, associated their recovery with the reestablishment of royal power.²⁵ The very fact that he wrote such a work shows his desire to record the abbey's rights as well as his own achievements. His activity as a builder and decorator and his revival of the liturgical commemoration for kings and emperors²⁶ were likewise inspired by his desire to renew the ancient glory of Saint-Denis.²⁷ He turned his rummaging in the abbey's archives to good account in cases such as those of Argenteuil, which will be discussed later, and Notre-Dame-des-Champs, which the bishop of Paris had given to the Cluniacs but which Suger recovered for Saint-Denis.²⁸ He sought to restore the old ways even when they were not of advantage to Saint-Denis, as when the inhabitants of Saint-Denis (and some of Saint-Marcel) recovered, admittedly at a price, their freedom from the mortmain they owed, according to Suger's charter, "not by the due right of ancient custom but by the ambitious introduction of a new exaction."²⁹ Suger showed himself to be a child of the renaissance of the twelfth century in this concern for authenticity and renewal, in institutional as well as spiritual matters and no less than in his buildings and liturgical vessels, which also combined old and new elements.

I

The most serious problem facing Suger when he became abbot was the monastic discipline in his abbey, of which a highly unfavorable account is given by two distinguished, if not unbiased,

contemporaries. The first was Abelard, who in the *Historia calamitatum* described Saint-Denis at the time of his entry in about 1118 as "of very secular and evil life" and its Abbot Adam as a low character of notorious infamy. "I made myself exceedingly burdensome and unpopular to everyone," he wrote, "by frequently and vehemently criticizing their intolerable practices, now in private, now in public."³⁰ Later he described his efforts to obtain permission to leave the abbey first from Adam, who refused, and then from Suger, who consented, partly owing to the intervention of the king and his council. The chamberlain, Stephen of Garlande, in particular asked Suger and his *familiares* why they wanted to keep Abelard against his will, "by which they could easily cause scandal and serve no useful purpose," Abelard wrote, "since my [way of] life and theirs could in no way conform. I knew that the view of the king's council in this matter, however, was that the less regular an abbey was the more it would be subject to the king and of use . . . for temporal gain."³¹

The second witness was Bernard of Clairvaux, in his Letter 78, which was written some time before May 1128, when Stephen of Garlande, whose simultaneous holding of military and clerical positions Bernard attacked, fell from favor. In the first part of this letter Bernard expressed joy at the sudden change in Suger's way of life—"what you have become from what you were," as he put it³²—and said that, while he was thinking primarily of Suger's style of dress and travel, the conversion had gone beyond that of a single sinner to the entire congregation. For, whereas the abbey had formerly served Caesar more than God, and the cloister had been filled with soldiers, it was now free for God and devoted to continence, discipline, and holy readings. "Shame for the previous state of affairs," Bernard wrote, "has ordained the austerity of the new way of life. . . . The variety of holy observances drives out boredom and acedia."³³ And he gave a feeling, if somewhat unlikely, account of the breast-beatings, penitential kneelings, tears, groans, sighs, and spiritual songs with which the abbey was now filled, stressing the satisfaction these, and the change from "the arrogance of [Suger's] former way of life," had given both in heaven and on earth.³⁴

The accounts given by these two writers must be taken with a grain of salt. Even leaving aside the question of the date and authenticity of the *Historia calamitatum*, Abelard by his own account entered Saint-Denis unwillingly—compelled more by the confusion of shame, he said, than by the devotion of conversion³⁵—and his criticism was clearly inspired by his desire to leave. He was always critical of large and wealthy monasteries,³⁶ and his resentment in this case may have been sharpened by Suger's recovery of Argenteuil, where Heloise had taken refuge at the same time Abelard himself had entered Saint-Denis. Bernard was above considerations of this type, but he may have wanted to ingratiate himself with Suger in order to win his support against Stephen of Garlande.³⁷ So far as is known, he had no

personal knowledge of conditions at Saint-Denis, and his picture of the cloister filled with soldiers before Suger's reform and with spiritual exercises afterward seems overdrawn.

The main lines of Abelard's and Bernard's descriptions are nevertheless confirmed by other evidence. An impression of disorderly lack of control under Abbot Adam is given, for instance, by the charter giving the almoner not only the almshouse and adjacent chambers and oven, "free from all exaction of the ministerials of Saint-Denis and all evil custom," such as tolls, dues on wine, and sales taxes, "or other custom or bread [made] by the bakers living in the chambers of the same," but also jurisdiction over any thieves who took refuge there.³⁸ One of the additions to the extracts from Suger's *Vita* of Louis VI in Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 554 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 5949A mentions Suger's visits to several southern Italian monasteries "for the sake of prayer" after the Lateran Council of 1123 and his reform after his return of "the order of holy religion" at Saint-Denis, where, "Previously, owing to the negligence of former abbots and various monks . . . the institution of regular life had been so reduced . . . that the monks kept scarcely a pretense of religious life."³⁹ Though the date of this addition is uncertain,⁴⁰ it shows the existence of a tradition that Suger initiated reform at Saint-Denis during the early years of his abbacy.⁴¹ More concrete evidence comes from the Cardinal-Legate, Matthew of Albano, formerly prior of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, who referred to Saint-Denis in a charter of 1129 as "illuminated with all religion,"⁴² and from Pope Innocent II, who in his privilege for Saint-Denis of May 1131 described Suger's reform of religious life in the monastery as "welcome to God."⁴³

The precise nature of this reform is unclear. Suger himself was a monk of the old school who had entered Saint-Denis as an oblate and was ordained a priest only just before becoming abbot,⁴⁴ and Bernard's criticism of his dress and style of travel in the early years of his abbacy may have been justified. His change could well have been motivated by conviction or by policy or by both, since he doubtless not only saw but also felt the pressure for reform. William of Saint-Denis devoted the entire second book of his *Vita* to Suger's monastic life, stressing his assiduity in the liturgy and the moderation of his food and housing, which he described respectively as "neither too vile nor too choice" and "neither too rugged nor too luxurious," adding that he built nothing for his own use except a small cell in which he was free to read, weep, and contemplate "at the hours allowed him."⁴⁵ Bishop Robert of Hereford described Suger's personal life as a mirror reflecting both "what shines outside and what is profitable inside,"⁴⁶ and while neither this nor William's account is above suspicion of flattery, they confirm what Bernard said of Suger's personal reform.

Very little, too, is known about institutional reform at Saint-Denis. It may have been motivated, like Suger's personal reform,

by a serious desire for good order or by prudential considerations, for no one would have been more aware than Suger of the truth of Abelard's comment that the king was more likely to make demands of a lax than of a strict abbey. In two charters that will be cited later he specifically associated monastic freedom with austerity and prosperity. Suger's writings show, however, that the reform (in spite of Bernard's feeling account of the devotional exercises at Saint-Denis) was along the lines more of strict black Benedictine monasticism than of some of the new religious orders. "Love is the essence [*summa*] of the monastic religion," according to one of Suger's charters,⁴⁷ which echoed the sentiments of Peter the Venerable in his famous Letter 28, in which he said, "The straightness [*rectitudo*] of the rule is love."⁴⁸ Suger showed this love in his provisions for improving conditions in the infirmary, his concern for the quality and quantity of food and drink served to the monks, and his changes to the choir, "in which those who were assiduous in the service of the church suffered greatly from the coldness of the marble and copper."⁴⁹ This more comfortable life was balanced, however, as at Cluny, by the length of the liturgy, to which Suger added a daily Mass of the Holy Spirit and weekly offices of the Virgin and of Saint Denis⁵⁰ as well as the ancient royal anniversaries and the commemoration of new anniversaries, for himself and others, marked by prayers and charitable distributions.⁵¹ Suger stressed the need to maintain "a fullness of office, according to the observation of its order to the last iota and last detail" in his letter to Pope Eugene III concerning the reform of Sainte-Geneviève in 1148,⁵² and he apparently applied the same principle at Saint-Denis.

With these two features—an orderly but not uncomfortable life and a long liturgy—Suger combined a third feature of old, black Benedictine monasticism: a concern for conspicuous display, both in charity and in building and decoration. No fewer than three thousand loaves were to be distributed on his own anniversary.⁵³ In *De administratione* he acknowledged that "it is most pleasing to me that whatever is more precious, whatever is most precious should above all serve in the administration of the most sacred Eucharist," and he went on to stress, after recognizing the central importance of "a holy mind, pure spirit, [and] faithful intention," that "we must also serve through the outward ornaments of sacred vessels."⁵⁴ So many gems and pearls were offered for this purpose, he wrote in *De consecratione*, that they could not be refused "without great shame and offense to the saints," and in *De administratione* he unintentionally pointed to the difference in this respect between Saint-Denis and the new orders by describing the miraculous gem-buying bargain he struck with some monks from Cîteaux and Fontevault.⁵⁵ The style of Suger's building, and its ornamentation, and of the liturgical vessels made for him, likewise shows that his sympathies in this regard lay less with the new religious orders, which rejected such visual display, than with the older forms of

monasticism.

That Suger achieved his objective of raising the level of monastic life at Saint-Denis is shown by John of Salisbury's remark, in the *Historia pontificalis*, that Suger died "leaving his church in the best state."⁵⁶ A slight shadow is thrown across this picture, however, by the troubles during the early years of Suger's successor, Odo of Deuil, who will appear again both as prior of Chapelle-Aude and as abbot of Saint-Corneille at Compiègne and who is best known as the historian of the Second Crusade. Almost nothing was known about his election at Saint-Denis before the publication in 1942 of the *Dialogus apologeticus* of William of Saint-Denis,⁵⁷ from which it appears that the monks met on the day Suger died and chose twelve *seniores*, who in turn nominated Odo as abbot, apparently without opposition. Accusations of improper influence and behavior were soon brought against him, however, and he responded by exiling some of Suger's relations and supporters, including William, who was sent to the priory of Saint-Denis-en-Vaux in Aquitaine.⁵⁸ Louis VII, Bernard of Clairvaux, and the papal curia all became involved in the affair, which was eventually settled in Odo's favor by Pope Anastasius IV. It seems to have been a perhaps inevitable reaction to the long rule of Suger, who had established policy and appointed officers for almost thirty years. Suger relied heavily on his subordinates (and perhaps also his relations) during his long absences,⁵⁹ especially when he was serving as regent during Louis VII's absence during the Second Crusade. This may have led to some discontent, as did his readiness to finance another crusade out of the abbey's resources, to judge from William's slightly defensive justification in the *Vita*.⁶⁰ Stirrings of discontent may also be reflected in Suger's appeal to his monks on his deathbed: to keep unity; avoid scandal and schism; and preserve the order, divine worship, and veneration of the saints.⁶¹ In the long run his appeal was successful, and there is no evidence of further trouble under Abbot Odo.

Some light is thrown on Suger's monastic policy by his involvement in the affairs of several other houses, especially Argenteuil in 1129, Chaumont in 1146, Sainte-Geneviève at Paris in 1149, Fontevault in 1149, and Saint-Corneille at Compiègne in 1150. Although his interest in Argenteuil was inspired by his desire to recover a former possession of Saint-Denis,⁶² all the documents concerned with the case also make special mention of the low level of life of the nuns there, whose prioress was Heloise. Suger himself said in his testament of 1137 that the house "was almost ruined by the extraordinary frivolity of the nuns,"⁶³ but there are other, and less prejudiced, witnesses, such as the legate Matthew of Albano, who issued a charter saying that the matter came up at a council held at Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1129:

When we were considering the reform of the sacred order in various monasteries of Gaul in which it had grown cool, sud-

denly a charge was made in the general meeting against the enormity and infamy of a certain monastery of nuns known as Argenteuil. . . . When everyone there demanded their expulsion, the venerable Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis . . . showed sufficiently clearly that the said monastery belonged to his church . . .

and it was duly returned to him.⁶⁴ This action was confirmed both by Louis VI and his son, who restored Argenteuil to Saint-Denis without keeping "any of the things pertaining to the royal dignity,"⁶⁵ and by Popes Honorius II and Innocent II in two bulls referring to "the women of bad life" living at Argenteuil and to the reform of religious life there.⁶⁶

The case of Saint-Pierre at Chaumont-en-Vexin resembled that of Argenteuil in that it involved the recovery by Saint-Denis of a former possession as well as the reform of the house. In 1145 Louis VII granted the abbey to Saint-Denis and instructed the abbot and his dependents not to obey the archbishop of Rouen.⁶⁷ Suger himself said in *De administratione*:

We were at pains [*elaboravimus*] to obtain the church of Saint-Pierre at Chaumont, both the church and the canonries when the canons died, from Archbishop Hugh of Rouen and from the lord King Louis of the Franks. We also reverently installed twelve monks with a thirteenth as prior for the exaltation of that church and the propagation of the divine cult.⁶⁸

This method of gradually replacing secular canons, as they died, with monks or regular canons was also used elsewhere.

Pope Eugene III instructed Suger in April 1148 to install eight monks from Saint-Martin-des-Champs, with the prior of Abbeville as abbot, in Sainte-Geneviève of Paris to serve as an example to the canons there, who were warned to receive the newcomers "honestly."⁶⁹ This was apparently easier said than done, for the pope changed his instructions a few weeks later, "for the good of peace, if the canons of this church, saving their prebends, will receive regular canons."⁷⁰ Even this was not easy,⁷¹ but in due time Suger informed the pope that he had installed a prior and twelve canons from the abbey of Saint-Victor and asked him, in the passage cited above, to help maintain the full liturgical office.⁷² In another letter, he wrote, "Irregular [canons] will clearly never consent to [be] regular canons except by force."⁷³ The task was finally completed, however, and Bernard congratulated Suger on the restoration of order and discipline at Sainte-Geneviève.⁷⁴

The situation was different at Fontevrault, where Suger intervened with the pope in 1149 to protect the nuns from Bishop Gilbert of Poitiers (between whom and Suger, according to John of Salisbury, no love was lost⁷⁵), who was trying to subjugate them and refused to bless their abbess.⁷⁶ "You know . . . that the

bishop," Suger wrote, "is accustomed to disturbing his subjects," and he then described Fontevrault with admiration as "a place of such religious life, which we saw newly founded when we were at school in that region and which we rejoice to have heard has already grown, by the will of God, to almost four or five thousand nuns." He therefore urged the pope to allow them to run their own affairs.⁷⁷

Finally, at Saint-Corneille in Compiègne, as at Sainte-Geneviève, the pope in June 1150 instructed Suger and Bishop Baldwin of Noyon, on behalf of the king and himself, "to propagate the religious life" by installing monks in place of the secular canons,⁷⁸ through whose malice and negligence, according to a letter from Louis VII, the house had fallen on evil days. The king had therefore been advised by the pope "to uproot those clerics like unfruitful trees, reforming that place for the better, and [to] install the monastic order there."⁷⁹ Odo of Deuil, soon to be Suger's successor at Saint-Denis, was duly chosen abbot and blessed by the bishop,⁸⁰ but the canons—with the support of their treasurer, the king's brother Philip—put up a lively resistance, seizing the relics, barricading the doors, and cutting the bell-ropes in order to prevent the monks from sounding the alarm.⁸¹ Peace was finally established, and Odo went to Rome, where the pope gave him a privilege confirming his rule over "this monastery . . . in which hitherto secular clerics have lived irregularly and improperly, so as to reform in it a state of honesty and religion" and ordering that "the monastic order . . . should be for all time inviolably preserved there."⁸² Suger informed the pope that the church had been changed "from the old into the new state of religion" and that "a camp of piety and of holy religion had been built there" in place of "a camp of iniquity."⁸³ But he also said that the tasks of reforming this house and Sainte-Geneviève were the hardest tasks he had undertaken at the order of the pope or the king.⁸⁴

These cases illustrate not only the difficulty of reforming established religious houses⁸⁵—and the measures and compromises that were sometimes necessary to carry out the reform—but also the determination and energy with which Suger tackled the job. His motives in doing so may not have been entirely religious, since the reform of these houses involved an assertion of central authority and the destruction of two important centers of local power. But there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of Suger's desire to introduce here, as in his own abbey, a more withdrawn and liturgically oriented type of religious life. He believed that it was the duty of prelates, as he said in the introductory arenga to his ordinance of 1140/41,

to provide for those who are dedicated to the service of Almighty God . . . and to care for and protect from all molestation the contemplatives who are truly the arc of divine atonement. . . . Embracing their religion with my entire soul,

I implore beseechingly the prayers of religious men, both in order that they may provide more devoutly and effectively for us in spiritual matters and [that] we, by providing for them in temporal matters, may most devoutly take care to sustain [and] foster them with provisions.⁸⁶

II

This passage brings out clearly the link, as seen by monks of the old, black Benedictine tradition, between their liturgical intercession for the welfare of outsiders and the economic support owed them by society. "It is sure, O servants of God," Suger wrote in the arenga to a charter for the monks of Longpont in 1150, "that you live only from [your] labors and nourishment or that you are supported by alms. The stricter your life and support, the freer it should be."⁸⁷ For his own monks Suger was determined not only to recover old and acquire new property but also to prevent any improper alienation of property in the future. The arenga to a charter of 1133 for the dependent priory of Chapelle-Aude declared:

Since those things that have been given to monasteries by the faithful for the remission of their sins ought to remain tranquil and stable in the due alms of the monks and others serving God in the church, it is improper for them to be removed or diminished by the rash levity of any person in any way.

Suger went on to prohibit in the strictest terms any gift, sale, or mortgage of the churches belonging to the priory.⁸⁸

Suger stands out among his contemporaries in both ecclesiastical and secular positions for his farsighted and aggressive economic policy, of which he left a unique account in *De administratione*.⁸⁹ In this work he not only expressed his pride in acquiring and recovering possessions for Saint-Denis but also described the methods by which he increased the abbey's revenues: carefully cultivating the soil and vines, controlling the rapacity of mayors and sergeants, and repelling the claims of grasping advocates.⁹⁰ Likewise, in the *Vita* of Louis VI, Suger congratulated himself on the recovery of lost estates and the acquisition of new ones, the augmentation of the church, and the restoration or institution of buildings, which produced, he said, "an affluence of such liberty, good reputation, and worldly opulence."⁹¹ Here, as in the charter for Longpont, he associated monastic liberty with austerity and wealth.

He pursued the economic advantage of Saint-Denis with energy, imagination, and occasionally a touch of opportunism, as when he (along with many other abbots) took advantage of the Second Crusade to acquire property that was sold or mortgaged by crusaders in order to pay for their expeditions.⁹² He regularly exploited his powerful position in the interests of his abbey and

repeatedly sought the aid of popes and kings to secure its rights and property. Pope Calixtus II instructed the archbishops and bishops of France in a general letter to do "full justice" in cases involving any of their parishioners against whom the abbot or monks of Saint-Denis brought a reasonable complaint.⁹³ Louis VI, in the charter of 1124 recognizing his special relation to Saint-Denis, confirmed its *vicaria*, rights of justice, and full liberty and gave it control over the royal fair of the Indiction (known as Lendit) held outside the walls of the abbey,⁹⁴ which from then on owned both the internal and external fairs. Twenty years later Suger wrote in *De administratione* that he had raised three hundred shillings in additional annual income from this fair.⁹⁵

Innocent II issued in 1131 a general privilege confirming these and other rights and possessions, including six estates in Lorraine acquired in 1124/25 from Count Albert of Marimont (Morsberg), who was freed from excommunication, and his successor, Mainard; the monastery of Argenteuil; six estates in the diocese of Orléans; and "the county of the Vexin . . . which our dearest son Louis, king of the Franks, is known to hold through you from Saint-Denis in benefice and fief."⁹⁶ Seventeen years later, in 1148, Pope Eugene III issued another general privilege, omitting the reference to the fairs of Lendit but naming twenty-two further properties, including nine churches [*altare*] and a chapel in the diocese of Laon (three of which were given to Saint-Denis by Bishop Bartholomew in 1125 and 1126⁹⁷), two churches in the diocese of Cambrai,⁹⁸ one church in the diocese of Rouen given by Archbishop Hugh with the consent of King Louis, the priory of Notre-Dame-des-Champs in the diocese of Paris, the royal rights in three *villas* in the Ile-de-France,⁹⁹ two churches in the diocese of Chartres given by Bishop Geoffrey, one church in the diocese of Arras given by Bishop Alvisus in 1147,¹⁰⁰ and the priory of Deerhurst and its two possessions of Taynton and Northmoor in Oxfordshire, which had been given by Kings Edward and William of England.¹⁰¹

These properties in England were the subject of a dispute that illustrates the economic policies of Saint-Denis. The monks of Reading claimed that they had been unjustly deprived by Deerhurst of their church at Stanton in the parish of Northmoor. The prior and monks of Deerhurst replied that this parish "was of the right of Saint-Denis" and belonged to their church at Taynton, which they had held since its founding. The case was heard by Abbot Gilbert Foliot of Gloucester, the future bishop of London, and other judges in 1145/48, but the prior of Reading appealed to the pope,¹⁰² and it was finally settled (without, apparently, resorting to Rome) by Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, who told Bishop Alexander of Lincoln that Saint-Denis might build a chapel with a cemetery at Northmoor and hold it, with its parishioners and tithes, from Reading in return for an annual payment of a silver mark "in recognition of subjection to their mother church at Stanton."¹⁰³ Deerhurst's basic economic rights

were thus established and were promptly confirmed by the pope in the privilege of 1148.

Meanwhile, in 1143, Suger obtained from Louis VII a charter granting and confirming various privileges of Saint-Denis, including the right to free its serfs, jurisdiction over usurers and coiners, and control over all building within certain defined limits.¹⁰⁴ These rights were doubtless important, as were the new properties listed in the papal charters, but in the long run they were probably less valuable to Saint-Denis than Suger's efforts to make the most of its existing estates, many of which were suffering from neglect and oppression at the time he became abbot. Monnerville, for instance, was described in *De administratione* as "the most miserable *villa* of all" and as reduced "almost to a solitude" by the oppression of the lords of Méréville.¹⁰⁵ The archbishop of Reims and bishop of Soissons used almost the same words in a charter of 1145, which said that Count Hugh of Roucy had reduced Concevreux "almost to a solitude" by his excessive demands.¹⁰⁶

Suger tackled this situation with his usual resourcefulness. By negotiating with bishops, religious houses, and secular lords he managed to free many estates from oppressive obligations.¹⁰⁷ He made use of persuasion, various types of inducements—both material and spiritual—and more drastic means if necessary, ranging from force to excommunication and including, in one case, the marriage of the heiress to an advocacy to a man he called "one of our domestics."¹⁰⁸ Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres, after many requests from Suger and his monks, freed the churches of Monnerville and Rouvrai "from those persons who are vulgarly called vicars,"¹⁰⁹ and in 1130 Louis VI gave a chapel free from all service to the bishop, archdeacon, or parish.¹¹⁰ At about the same time Suger redeemed some revenues and property held in gage by a Jew from Montmorency named Ursellus.¹¹¹ Suger took strong measures to curb the authority of lay advocates over the abbey's officials, both provosts and mayors (*maiores*), and also to control these officials, one of whom he sent to Saint-Denis in chains.¹¹²

Having established the freedom of the estates, Suger saw to building and repairing the agricultural buildings, fortifying them if necessary,¹¹³ and to resettling the land with productive workers. Of Beaune-la-Roland, for instance, he said, "We had the *villas* that had been entirely deserted by the *hospites* [*exhospitat*] resettled with *hospites* [*rehospitari*]."¹¹⁴ At Vaucresson he decreed that anyone wishing to settle there could have one and a half arpents of land for a census of twelve pennies free from all tallage and exactions and subject to the orders only of the abbot.¹¹⁵ He encouraged the clearing of new land,¹¹⁶ the establishment of fisheries,¹¹⁷ and especially, since he knew the problems of a parish without a source of wine, the planting of vineyards.¹¹⁸ He developed the revenues from fairs;¹¹⁹ from mills, ovens, and other rights later known as banalities;¹²⁰ and from hunting rights and rights of jurisdiction, including rights over Jews, to whom

his attitude was more favorable, perhaps for economic reasons, than that of other religious leaders in the twelfth century.¹²¹ Suger turned to advantage, as has been seen, even the unjust mortmain imposed by his predecessor on the inhabitants of Saint-Denis and Saint-Marcel, who had redeemed their freedom for two hundred shillings, by using the sum to renovate and decorate the entrance to the abbey.¹²²

He sought whenever possible to clarify and define the rights of Saint-Denis and to renegotiate disadvantageous arrangements. The two charters of 1133 and 1136 settling the division of the revenues of the church of Grand-Axhe in the diocese of Liège, "out of which," as the bishop said in the former, "damage [and] controversy have often arisen," reflected the current trend toward a distinction between the rights of the patron and the priest and clearly established, as had the settlement with Reading, the economic rights of Saint-Denis. The charter of 1136 admitted frankly that the priest's portion needed to be defined because even definite and peaceful agreements often led to controversies "both out of remoteness of place and for many other reasons."¹²³ Tithes were a particular object of concern and figured in many charters. An interesting agreement of about 1151 dividing some tithes between Clairefontaine and Saint-Denis specified:

You should not be surprised that only cultivated lands are included in the quarter [of the tithes] belonging to Saint-Denis, since the view [*mens*] of the arbitrators was that Saint-Denis seemed to be at fault [*gravare*] in this cause and [they] therefore wished to assist to the extent that only cultivated lands were computed in its quarter. Common usage, furthermore, to which one should resort in doubtful cases, has it that only cultivated land is included in the term lands, especially when "old" is added, for those are called old which have been cultivated for a long time and [those are called] new [which have been cultivated] recently.¹²⁴

Suger's renegotiation of the terms for the tithes of Barville, which had been held for over a hundred years for an annual rent of two shillings, showed that he fully realized the value of revenues in kind in a period of rising prices.¹²⁵

He protected the interests not only of Saint-Denis but also of its dependencies, such as Chapelle-Aude, to whose aid he summoned the pope and king as well as the archbishop of Bourges.¹²⁶ The campaign—which lasted over twenty years and may have led even to forgery by the prior of Chapelle-Aude, Odo of Deuil—seems to have started with a charter of Archbishop Wolgrin of Bourges in 1123 saying that, in view of the frequent complaints of Suger and the then prior of Chapelle-Aude that the monks of Ahun had taken the church of Estevareilles from Saint-Denis, he had invested the monks of Saint-Denis with the church because the prior and monks of Ahun had failed to appear on the

day they were summoned.¹²⁷ In 1144/51, however, Suger was still writing to Wolgrin's successor by one, Archbishop Peter, asking him to protect the possessions of Saint-Denis, especially Estevareilles, "which in this storm of the church of Bourges," he wrote, "the monks of Ahun have seized by lay hands from our monks of Chapelle-Aude."¹²⁸ Meanwhile, probably in 1130, Suger and the king jointly complained to Archbishop Wolgrin that the prior of Saint-Désiré, a dependency of the great abbey of La Chiusa, had unjustly taken two churches from Chapelle-Aude, in response to which the abbot of La Chiusa expressed surprise that Wolgrin would listen to "frivolous complaints," since Saint-Désiré had held the property for over thirty years without complaint, and threatened to appeal the case to Rome.¹²⁹ Innocent II wrote to both Wolgrin and the abbot of La Chiusa trying to find an occasion for settling the dispute,¹³⁰ which dragged on for some time longer, due in part to Suger's prodding of the unfortunate archbishop,¹³¹ and which illustrates not only his determination to recover long-lost property but also his persistence in enlisting outside authorities on the side of Saint-Denis.¹³²

He also worked to acquire new property for Chapelle-Aude. When four hermits approached him asking to be received into fraternity, he persuaded them to give their church and property to Saint-Denis and to submit to Chapelle-Aude in return for permission to remain as they were (*in habitu suo*) for as long as they wished and to be received as monks there "if they wanted to enter into the monastic religion."¹³³ Here he laid the basis for a dependent priory or *cella*.

We have already seen the arrangements made by Suger to establish priories at Argenteuil and Chaumont. He also introduced communities at Notre-Dame-des-Champs at Essones, "which he himself [according to a charter of the archbishop of Sens in 1142/51] built new to perform the service of God and founded, as it were, with his own hands";¹³⁴ at Saint-Denis at L'Estrée;¹³⁵ La Celle (Zell) in the diocese of Metz, which he acquired from the count of Morsperg in 1125;¹³⁶ and at Lebraha (Liepvre) in the diocese of Strasbourg.¹³⁷ Other sources from the abbacy of Suger refer to Sainte-Gauburge (Walpurgis) in the diocese of Seez, Salonne in the diocese of Metz, Reuilly and Chapelle-Aude in the diocese of Bourges, Saint-Denis-en-Vaux in the diocese of Poitiers, where Suger's biographer, William, was sent to rusticate by Abbot Odo, and Deerhurst in England.¹³⁸ But this list is certainly incomplete and more work needs to be done on the priories belonging to Saint-Denis.¹³⁹ Their function and relation to the mother abbey is unclear. Suger wrote in his testament: "Since all limbs should cooperate with their head, we ask that our anniversary should be celebrated in all the cells wherever they are according to the size and resources of the places." He regarded their purpose here as primarily liturgical and referred to his foundation at L'Estrée as "for the service of God and the holy martyrs,"¹⁴⁰ but their economic role was certainly also important,

and the priors acted as Suger's principal assistants in the control and exploitation of the properties belonging to Saint-Denis.

After the priors came the provosts, who were normally members of the community, and the *maiores*, who were lay dependents but occasionally people of some power and substance.¹⁴¹ Archbishop Hugh of Sens wrote to Suger about a *maior* of the monks of Sainte-Colombe at Sens who, though a serf, behaved "as if he were the lord of their lands";¹⁴² Louis VI referred in a charter of 1122/37 to the *maior* of Saint-Denis at Laversine "together with his wife, sons and daughters, *famuli* and nurses, one servant, [and] two men-at-arms";¹⁴³ and Suger in *De administratione* spoke of retaining the champart of the whole land of Vaucresson "except for the carrucate from the fief of the *maior*."¹⁴⁴ A charter of Bishop Bartholomew of Laon in 1134 shows that at Pierres the *maior* was appointed by the provost,¹⁴⁵ and the office was probably closer to that of a supervisor or foreman than of a modern mayor. Below the *maiores* were found, at least in some areas, the *servientes*, or sergeants. Suger referred to repressing the rapacity of the mayors and sergeants in the Vexin, for instance, and to making a grant at Monnerville "by the hand of a monk or of our sergeant."¹⁴⁶ There is a reference in a charter of 1145 to a *decanus* as well as a mayor at Concevreux, and both a *villicus* and a *decanus* appear among the witnesses to Suger's grant to Longpont in 1150,¹⁴⁷ but the precise character of these positions is unclear.¹⁴⁸

Even less is known about the nonagricultural than about the agricultural officials of Saint-Denis under Suger. There is the interesting allusion in the charter of 1111 to freeing the almshouse "from all exaction of the ministerials of Saint-Denis,"¹⁴⁹ which suggests that they were a power unto themselves, and in *De administratione* Suger mentioned a *ministerialem magistrum*, apparently in the sense of a master craftsman, in his description of the making of the stained-glass windows at Saint-Denis.¹⁵⁰ Bishop Goslenus of Soissons referred to the ministerials of Saint-Denis in a charter of 1149 settling a dispute between Saint-Denis and the Premonstratensian abbey at Valseri,¹⁵¹ but the term here seems to be a general one for those in charge of the estate, and this is confirmed by the reference to the mayor and dean in the charter of 1145 as ministerials of Saint-Denis.¹⁵² It probably parallels the terms *ministri* and *procuratores* used by Suger in *De administratione*¹⁵³ and may not always have been used to denote the same type of worker.

The most important evidence concerning the military dependents of Saint-Denis at this time is found in an unpublished charter of Matthew *Bellusbomo* in 1125, in which he acknowledged himself to be "the liege man of Saint-Denis and its abbot" and listed his fiefs. Matthew, who was also known as *Bellus* and *Pulcher* (which raises some question as to whether he was really a handsome man or simply a member of the family Le Bel) was the second son of Ralph (II), lord of Villiers-le-Bel, and appeared with his brother Ralph (III) among the witnesses to a charter of

Matthew of Montmorency in 1140.¹⁵⁴ In the charter for Saint-Denis he listed, at the request of Suger and the entire community, "all my fiefs that I possess as my own [*in proprium*] from Saint-Denis" and those that were held from him by his liege *militēs*, of whom he lists forty-one holding a total of fifty-five military fiefs ranging from churches (with and without the altars) and tithes to mills and various types of dues.¹⁵⁵ There are in Suger's works, in addition, a few references to *militēs* and *castellani* holding fiefs from Saint-Denis, including Milo of Montlhéry (Bray), whom he called "our man, who holds half the forest [of Iveline] from us with another fief."¹⁵⁶ Together with Matthew's charter these give an idea of the military force at the disposition of the abbot of Saint-Denis and help explain the willingness of the king (who in a charter of 1134 referred to one of the abbey's fiefs as "under our power"¹⁵⁷) to help Suger establish control over his lands.

III

This brings me to the third and final topic of the internal administration and organization of Saint-Denis, which will also be the shortest because so little is known. As an independent abbey, Saint-Denis followed its own customs and never, so far as is known, wrote them down. Even the size of the community, which is known from memorial books to have numbered about a hundred and fifty monks in the mid-ninth century,¹⁵⁸ is uncertain for the twelfth century. The largest number of witnesses to a charter during Suger's abbacy was to his testament in 1137, for which there were eight officials, ten priests (including two former abbots of other houses), ten deacons, ten subdeacons, and ten boys,¹⁵⁹ but the fact that two other charters have respectively five and three witnesses in each of these categories, as opposed to the eight and ten here, suggests that they were representative rather than complete and that the community was larger than the total of forty-eight witnessing Suger's testament. These lists show, however, that it was composed, unlike many monasteries belonging to the new orders of the twelfth century, not only of priests but also of many monks not in holy orders and also of oblates.¹⁶⁰

The officers included the abbot, prior, subprior, precentor, infirmarian, treasurer, capicerius, chanter, chancellor (who was probably the same as the cartographer), cellarer, and almoner, and they appeared approximately in this order when they subscribed to charters,¹⁶¹ which they never did all together, even on Suger's testament, which lacks the chanter and almoner. There was also a chamberlain, who never appeared as a witness during Suger's abbacy but figured in several other documents,¹⁶² and a *coenator*, whose duties at Saint-Denis, according to later sources, consisted of preparing the evening refectio during the summer season.¹⁶³ William of Saint-Denis served as Suger's secretary and addressed his letter written from exile in 1152/53 to the notary

and doctor as well as the precentor and cellarer, all named William.¹⁶⁴ It is uncertain whether all of these were regular positions in the abbey, but there was clearly a group of officials numbering about a dozen.

There was in addition a more shadowy category of *seniores* among the monks. They appeared, for instance, after Suger's death, when twelve were chosen by the monks to elect a new abbot.¹⁶⁵ The provosts were also members of the community, and the fact that four of them, including Suger, subscribed to the charter of 1111 concerning the almshouse shows that they participated in community affairs. The role of the priors of dependent cells is unclear, but the abbot of the independent house of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés witnessed the 1111 charter, and two *quondam* abbots—presumably resigned abbots who had joined or rejoined the community—appeared among the priests who witnessed Suger's testament. The monks, therefore, drew on a wide range of experience in their deliberations. Suger's own career before he became abbot suggests that there was a deliberate policy of choosing as officials monks who had some knowledge of the outside world. Odo of Deuil had even wider exposure, having served successively in Châtelain-Aude, England, the monastery of Arras (perhaps at Saint-Vaast), and Ferrières before going with Louis VII on the Second Crusade, after which he had the dubious honor of being chosen the first abbot of Saint-Corneille at Compiègne.¹⁶⁶

Concerning Suger's choice of subordinates, William of Saint-Denis said in his *Vita* that

[s]ince he was frequently forced to be absent from the monastery for the public uses either of the kingdom or of the church, he had established from among the monks men [who were] well tried and inspired by holy zeal [and] who in example and in doctrine fulfilled his place, when he was absent, in the flock assigned to him. In promoting these men, he had regard neither for family nor for fatherland, but he promoted him who proved himself by his life.

His principal assistant was the prior Herveus, who appears in several charters and whom William described as unlearned but of great sanctity and simplicity.¹⁶⁷ He clearly also relied on the chamberlain Peter, who seems to have acted as a sort of roving plenipotentiary.

The results of this process of delegation can be seen in two important and parallel developments, one toward departmentalization and the other toward consultation. While Suger did not initiate the tendency for the various monastic offices at Saint-Denis to become increasingly independent, it is no accident that so many of the sections in the *Cartulaire blanc* begin with documents dating either from his abbacy or just before or after.¹⁶⁸ The charter of 1111 concerning the jurisdiction of the almoner, for in-

stance, is the first in the section *De elemosina*. Both in *De administratione* and in his charters Suger set aside special revenues for the refectory, principally for extra or enlarged meals on feast days and anniversaries, the almonry, and the treasury, especially for building, decorating, and lighting the new church.¹⁶⁹ It is clear from these sources, and from *De consecratione*, that he felt entitled to assign as he thought best the revenues gained for Saint-Denis by his own efforts.

This increasing departmentalization was balanced by an emphasis on consultation, which both legitimized decisions and prevented excessive decentralization. Suger may in fact have ruled with an iron hand but in the written records it appears well concealed by the velvet glove of consultation. In nine of the thirteen extant charters issued in his own name, consultation with his monks is indicated by a phrase like "*communicato ex more cum fratribus nostris consilio*," or "*communi favore capituli nostri*," or "*per consensum meum et totius capituli nostri*," and several of them were transacted in the chapter presided over by Suger.¹⁷⁰ Similar references in other charters show that he normally acted in consultation with the chapter not only in making grants but also in presenting requests, at which times Suger often appeared with his monks as petitioners.¹⁷¹ Some grants to the abbey were specifically made to or for the sake of Suger and his monks rather than to Saint-Denis or to the abbot alone. Suger naturally did not

initiate this practice. His predecessor, Adam, was said in the *Historia calamitatum* to have discussed Abelard's proposed departure from Saint-Denis with "those who were with him in council," and Suger discussed the same question with his *familiares*,¹⁷² which conveys a sense of the cronyism that doubtless marked much of this consultation. But what had often been a technicality in earlier medieval monasticism now increasingly became a reality both at Saint-Denis and in other twelfth-century monasteries.

Many abbots at this time, indeed, though surrounded by the trappings of wealth and power, increasingly lost real control over their houses and were forced to respect the wishes of their monks.¹⁷³ Even a great administrator like Suger was apparently prepared to sacrifice much of his power over Saint-Denis in return for the freedom to participate in outside affairs. The two tendencies of delegation and consultation were not unconnected either with each other or with Suger's outside activities. His ability to reform the abbey, stabilize its economy, and supervise its affairs even from a distance was the result of his knowledge of men and of his experience in the world. At the same time, it is impossible to understand Suger's position in the broader history of the twelfth century without taking into account his work in the smaller world of the abbey of Saint-Denis.

APPENDIX

Since writing this article, I have come across two small pieces of evidence showing the high esteem in which Suger's judgment was held by communities of secular and regular canons. The first was his role in making peace between the bishop and chapter of Paris in 1127, when Suger had been abbot of Saint-Denis for only five years. (See Benjamin Guérard, ed., *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris* [Paris, 1850], vol. 1, p. 338, no. 32.) The second was his role in helping to find the relics of Saint Evurtius at Orléans in the late 1140s. When the newly installed regular canons of the church of Saint-Euverte heard that Suger, "a man of lofty counsel and excellent prudence," was in their city, they enlisted his help in their search for the body of their patron, and,

going into a hidden place (*secretariam*) behind the altar of Saint Evurtius, they showed him a wooden covering to a tombstone. Suger at once said, "It is here, look here, for you will find [it] here," adding, "Do not delay; exalt God, and the Exalted will exalt you." The canons took courage "from the oracle of such a father" as well as from various visions and miracles having occurred on that spot, and, digging there, found two decorated sarcophaguses, one above the other, in the lower of which they found the body of Evurtius. (See the letter from Abbot Roger of Saint-Euverte to the abbot and community of Saint-Ouen at Rouen in *PL*, vol. 199, col. 1127A-28B.) Suger's experience as a builder at Saint-Denis doubtless gave him some knowledge of archaeology, which he here turned to a practical use.

NOTES

1. Félicie d'Ayzac, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1860-61), vol. 1, p. 1. There are two modern biographies of Suger: Cartellieri, *Suger*; and Marcel Aubert, *Suger*, *Figures monastiques* (Abbaye S. Wandrille, 1950). Cartellieri has three sections, respectively, on Suger's service to the crown (pp. 1-70), as abbot of Saint-Denis (pp. 71-107), and his literary activity (pp. 108-23); Aubert also has three

sections, on the monk and abbot (pp. 1-68), the politician and historian (pp. 69-122), and the builder and artist (pp. 123-66). Cartellieri has a useful register of documents (pp. 127-66), which includes references to earlier works (especially Luchaire's catalogs of the acts of Louis VI and Louis VII) and which will be cited here simply as Cart. with a number, and a list of places mentioned in the documents (pp. 178-84). A number of unpublished documents are found in the *Cartulaire blanc* of Saint-Denis, in two volumes (Paris, Archives na-

- tionales, LL 1157–1158), which was compiled in the mid-thirteenth century and of which there is a later manuscript inventory, in chronological order (Paris, Archives nationales, LL 1189), of which Professor John Baldwin of Johns Hopkins University kindly lent me a microfilm. Professor John Benton of the California Institute of Technology also supplied me with an analysis of some of this material, which will be referred to here as *Cart. blanc* (with volume, page numbers, and section references) and *Inv.* (with page and inventory number and the date or proposed date given there in parentheses). On these and other manuscript sources for the history of the abbey of Saint-Denis, see the introductions to the two books by Germaine Lebel, *Histoire administrative, économique et financière de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1935) and *Catalogue des actes de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis relatifs à la province ecclésiastique de Sens de 1151 à 1346* (Paris, 1935). Papal documents cited from the *Patrologia latina* will be indicated just by *PL*, followed by volume and column numbers, with references to the numbers in Philipp Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ad annum 1198*, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1885–88) (JL).
2. William, *Vita Sug.* (L), p. 405.
 3. See the documents cited in Cartellieri, *Suger*, pp. 127–29; and, on the status of oblates, Statute 66 of Peter the Venerable, Giles Constable, ed., *Consuetudines benedictinae variae*, *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum* 6 (Siegburg, 1975), p. 97 (and the note there).
 4. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), pp. 52–54; *Cart.* 7. Paschal later visited Saint-Denis.
 5. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), p. 66; *Cart.* 14.
 6. *Cart. blanc*, vol. 1, p. 51 (*De villa beati Dyonisii* 43) and, in a better copy, vol. 2, p. 557 (*De elemosina* 1); *Inv.*, pp. 219–20, no. 208 (1111); *Cart.* 12. Suger appears seventh among twenty-two witnesses (twenty-one in the version in *Cart. blanc*, vol. 1, p. 51), between the infirmarian and the almoner.
 7. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), pp. 136–42; *Cart.* 11, 13, 15, 16.
 8. William, *Enc. Let.* (L), pp. 405–6. See Hubert Glaser, “Wilhelm von Saint-Denis. Ein Humanist aus der Umgebung des Abtes Suger und die Krise seiner Abtei von 1151 bis 1153,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 85 (1965): 259–60, who dated the letter January 1151, immediately after Suger’s death, and said that it presented “the moral portrait of an exemplary abbot.”
 9. William, *Vita Sug.* (L), p. 379. See Glaser, “Wilhelm,” pp. 281–82.
 10. William, *Vita Sug.* (L), p. 383.
 11. Suger served the papacy in various capacities, including that of a judge-delegate, though he was without legal training: *PL* vol. 180, cols. 1401–2 (JL 9356; *Cart.* 245), col. 1406 (JL 9364; *Cart.* 277), col. 1407 (JL 9366; *Cart.* 273), cols. 1418–19 (JL 9391; *Cart.* 292).
 12. Léon Mirot, ed., *La Chronique de Morigny (1095–1152)*, Collection de textes pour servir à l’étude et à l’enseignement de l’histoire, 41, 2d ed. (Paris, 1912), p. 86 (3.7); see also p. 47 (2.12).
 13. Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 309 in Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais, eds., *S. Bernardi opera*, 9 vols. (Rome, 1957ff.), vol. 8, p. 229. For other contemporary references to Suger, see Lecoy, *Oeuvres*, pp. 413–26.
 14. See the works of Gabrielle Spiegel, “The Cult of Saint-Denis and Capetian Kingship,” *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975): 43–69, esp. p. 46, where she said, “Throughout its history, the monastery of Saint-Denis sought to establish a tie to the ruling house . . .” and *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis*, *Medieval Classics: Texts and Studies*, 10 (Brookline, Mass., 1978).
 15. Robert Barroux in “L’Anniversaire de la mort de Dagobert à Saint-Denis au XII^e siècle,” *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu’à 1715) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1942–43, pp. 131–51, remarked on the stylistic resemblances between Suger’s writings and the charter of Abbot Adam establishing this anniversary, which was paid for, furthermore, from the revenues of Suger’s two provostships at Berneval and Toury. Both he (p. 145) and Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 28, suggested that this act may have been designed to assert the association between Saint-Denis and the monarchy in view of the burial of Philip I at Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (Fleury), on which see Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), p. 84. See Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), p. 266, on the burial at Saint-Denis of Louis VI’s son Philip, and p. 286, on the burial of Louis himself, for whose body space in the church miraculously appeared.
 16. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), pp. 6 and 220. Charles J. Liebman, Jr., *Étude sur la vie en prose de Saint Denis* (Geneva, N.Y., 1942), p. ii, said that “la double préoccupation des moines de Saint-Denis, à savoir d’accréditer leur saint patron comme le protecteur de la maison royale de France, et de composer en même temps en son honneur un ouvrage historique, n’est que l’aboutissement d’un mouvement qui remonte un siècle plus haut, à l’abbatiate de Suger, et dont nous trouvons des échos dans l’épopée du XII^e siècle.” The charge that Suger forged the so-called Donation of Charlemagne, in which Charlemagne recognized the primacy of the abbey of Saint-Denis and deposited the royal insignia there, though denied by C. Van de Kieft, “Deux diplômes faux de Charlemagne pour Saint-Denis, du XII^e siècle,” *Le Moyen Age* 64 (1958): 421–24, and *Étude sur le chartier et la seigneurie du prieuré de La Chapelle-Aude (XI^e–XIII^e siècle)* (Assen, 1960), pp. 60–61, who attributed it to Suger’s successor, Odo of Deuil, has been revived by Eric Bournazel in his essay in this volume, pp. 61–66. Spiegel, “Cult,” pp. 59–60, also commented on the resemblance between Suger’s account of the events of 1124 and the language of the forgery.
 17. Jules Tardif, *Monuments historiques* (Paris, 1866), no. 391; *Cart.* 38. See Robert Barroux, “L’Abbé Suger et la vassalité du Vexin en 1124,” *Le Moyen Age* 64 (1958): 1–26, esp. pp. 10–11; Spiegel, “Cult,” pp. 58–59; and Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 30.
 18. Martial Chazaud, *Fragments du cartulaire de La Chapelle-Aude* (Moulins, 1860), pp. 120–21, nos. 79–80 (*Cart.* 64, 68; Émile Chénon, *Histoire et coutumes du prieuré de La Chapelle-Aude* [Paris, 1915], nos. 55–56); Tardif, *Monuments*, nos. 427, 466, 469 (*Cart.* 28, 113, 118); *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, p. 23 (*De Tauriaco* 11; and *Inv.*, pp. 247–48, no. 232 [ca. 1124]; *Cart.* 30).
 19. Suger, *Let.* (D), nos. 5 and 82, pp. 494, 520; *Cart.* 156, 193. See Marcel Pacaut, *Louis VII et les élections épiscopales dans le royaume de France* (Paris, 1957), p. 108, commenting that Suger did not intervene in episcopal elections under Louis VII.

20. Suger, *Let.* (L), pp. 264–66; Cart. 298.
21. H. W. C. Davis a.o., ed., *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1913–69), vol. 3, p. 278, no. 751.
22. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), p. 262.
23. Léopold Genicot, “L’Évolution des dons aux abbayes dans le comté de Namur du X^e au XIV^e siècle,” *XXX^e Congrès de la Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique. Annales* (Brussels, 1936), pp. 133–48.
24. William, *Vita Sug.* (L), pp. 381–82.
25. Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 183.
26. Suger, *Ord.* (P), pp. 129–33.
27. See the references to *renovare*, *reaurare*, and *reficere* in Suger, *Adm.* (P), pp. 66, 72.
28. Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 180–82; see pp. 12–13 and 18 below. A charter in the *Cartulaire de la Chambre* (Paris, Archives nationales, LL 1172), p. 142 = fol. 87v (*Inv.*, p. 249, no. 233 [ca. 1124]; Cart. 50 [1126]) refers to the recovery of a church that belonged to Saint-Denis *ab antiquitate*.
29. Suger, *Ch.* (L), p. 320; Cart. 44 (1125).
30. Joseph T. Muckle, “Abelard’s Letter of Consolation to a Friend (*Historia Calamitatum*),” *Mediaeval Studies* 12 (1950): 190–91; see p. 197 for further criticism of Saint-Denis. On Abelard’s career at Saint-Denis, see the articles by David Luscombe, “Pierre Abélard et le monachisme,” and Louis Grodecki, “Abélard et Suger,” in *Pierre Abélard. Pierre le Vénérable*, Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 546 (Paris, 1975), pp. 271–76, 279–84, dating his entry in 1117 (Luscombe) and 1118/9 (Grodecki).
31. Muckle, “Abelard’s Letter,” pp. 198–99. Permission was given for Abelard to go to a solitary (that is, uninhabited) place on condition that he subjected himself to no other abbey.
32. Bernard, Ep. 78.1 in Leclercq, *Opera*, vol. 7, p. 201.
33. Bernard, Ep. 78.4 *ibid.*, pp. 203–4.
34. Bernard, Ep. 78.9 *ibid.*, p. 207.
35. Muckle, “Abelard’s Letter,” p. 190. Fulk of Deuil wrote to Abelard that “*monachus es et sanctae religionis habitum, non invitatus, sed sponte sumpsisti*” (*PL*, vol. 178, cols. 375B–76A), but Roscellinus took a less favorable view in his letter to Abelard, where he said, “*In monasterio siquidem beati Dionysii, ubi non tam ex regulae severitate, quam ex sapientissimi abbatis misericordia dispensatione pro facultate singulorum omnia temperantur, morari non sustinens ecclesiam a fratribus sub nomine obedientiae, ubi voluntati voluptatique tuae deservires, accepisti, quam cum tuis superfluitatibus tuisque desideriis sufficere non posse conspiceres, aliam ad omnem voluntatem tuam idoneam eligens a domno abbate ex generali fratrum consensu accepisti . . .*” in Joseph Reinens, ed., *Der Nominalismus in der Frühscholastik*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, 8.5 (Münster, 1910), p. 79; see also pp. 65, 78.
36. Luscombe, “Pierre Abélard,” p. 273.
37. Bernard’s repeated denials that he was flattering Suger seem to protest a bit too much; see Ep. 78.7–9 in Leclercq, *Opera*, vol. 7, pp. 206–7.
38. See note 6 here. On the types of exactions and dues mentioned in this charter, the nature of some of which is obscure, see Achille Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions françaises. Période des Capétiens directs* (Paris, 1892), pp. 335–45; and Jan Frederik Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 1976), s.v.
39. Molinier, *Louis le Gros*, p. 142. I have not seen Antonio Castellano, “L’Incontro bitontino tra papa Callisto II e Suger de Saint-Denis con alcune considerazioni sul romanico pugliese,” *La Zagaglia* 15 (1973): 3–21.
40. Molinier, *Louis le Gros*, pp. xxi–xxviii, argued for a twelfth-century origin; Waquet, *Vie*, pp. xxii–xxiv, believed them to be later.
41. The date of the reform is uncertain, except that it was prior to Bernard’s Ep. 78, which was written before May 1128: see Michel Félibien, *Histoire de l’abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris, 1706), pp. 157–62; and Achille Luchaire, *Louis VI le Gros. Annales de sa vie et de son règne (1081–1137)* (Paris, 1890), p. 185, no. 398, who commented that “*les historiens ne sont pas d’accord sur la date de la réforme de Saint-Denis. On ne trouve d’indication précise à cet égard, ni dans les oeuvres de Suger ni dans sa biographie par Guillaume, ni dans les petites chroniques de Saint-Denis.*”
42. Jacques Doublet, *Histoire de l’abbaye de S. Denys en France* (Paris, 1625), p. 482; Cart. 59. In a charter issued at the same time, Bishop Stephen of Paris referred to “*nobile monasterium beati Dyonisii inter alia gallorum monasteria per dei misericordiam precipue in omni religioni elucet*”: *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, p. 278 (*De Argentario* 2); *Inv.*, pp. 264–65, no. 240 (ca. 1129); and Cart. 60.
43. *PL*, vol. 179, col. 93; JL 7472; Cart. 70; repeated in 1148 by Eugene III in *PL*, vol. 180, col. 1339; JL 9247; Cart. 186.
44. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), p. 212.
45. William, *Vita Sug.* (L), pp. 381, 389–93. See Glaser, “Wilhelm,” pp. 279–80.
46. Suger, *Let.* (D), p. 500; Cart. 187.
47. Suger, *Ord.* (P), p. 126; see Cart. 79–80.
48. Giles Constable, ed., *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, 2 vols., Harvard Historical Studies, 78 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), vol. 1, p. 90, and s.v. “Love” in index.
49. Suger, *Ch.* (L), pp. 326–31, 336 (Cart. 41, 88); and Suger, *Adm.* (P), p. 72, also *Ord.*, pp. 124–28, 132–34.
50. Suger, *Ch.* (L), pp. 326–27, 335; Cart. 41, 88.
51. Doublet, *Histoire*, p. 480 (“*orationis . . . subsidiis*”), p. 492 (anniversary celebrated “*a domno abbate et fratribus*”), p. 494 (triennial “*convivium et generalem receptum*” at Notre-Dame-des-Champs); Cart. 51 (1126), 116 (1144), 110 (1142/51); and Tardif, *Monuments*, no. 397 (“*fraternitatem et beneficium*”); Cart. 46 (1125).
52. Suger, *Let.* (L), pp. 250–51; Cart. 29.
53. See Lebel, *Histoire*, pp. 35, 238.
54. Suger, *Adm.* (P), pp. 64–66.
55. Suger, *Cons.* (P), p. 106; and Suger, *Adm.* (P), p. 58.
56. John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, ed. and trans., Marjorie Chibnall, Medieval Texts (London, 1956), p. 87.
57. André Wilmart, “Le Dialogue apologétique du moine Guillaume, biographe de Suger,” *Revue Mabillon* 32 (1942): 109–

11. See Glaser, "Wilhelm," pp. 285–99, who dated this work 1154. For earlier accounts of this affair, see Félibien, *Histoire*, pp. 192–95; Achille Luchaire, *Études sur quelques manuscrits de Rome et de Paris*, Université de Paris. Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres, 8 (Paris, 1899), pp. 59–60; and Van de Kieft, *Chapelle-Aude*, esp. pp. 58–63, 172–73, who compared Odo unfavorably to Suger (p. 59) and accused him of forgery (see note 16 here).
58. From where William wrote, probably in 1152/53, a well-known letter praising his place of exile, see *PL*, vol. 186, cols. 1471–74; Wilmart, "Dialogue," p. 115; and Glaser, "Wilhelm," pp. 282–85.
59. William, *Vita Sug.* (L), p. 386. A passage in Wilmart, "Dialogue," pp. 109–10, suggests that there was some fear of improper influence from Suger's relations.
60. William, *Vita Sug.* (L), p. 400; see Glaser, "Wilhelm," p. 305.
61. William, *Vita Sug.* (L), p. 408; and Wilmart, "Dialogue," p. 110.
62. Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 160–61 (and pp. 441–42); and Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), pp. 216–18; see also Suger, *Vita Lud.* (M), p. 145: "Moniales quedam infames, que ecclesiam Beate Marie de Argentario diu potentia cuiusdam filie Caroli Magni, regis Francorum, occupaverant, industria Sugerii, abbatis Sancti Dionysii in Francia, inde expelluntur, et monachis ejusdem loci quorum prius fuerat restituitur." On this episode see Cartellieri, *Suger*, pp. 84–85 (and Cart. 58–61, 63, 67); Lebel, *Histoire*, pp. 16–17; Aubert, *Suger*, pp. 26–27; Luscombe, "Pierre Abélard," p. 275; and Grodecki, "Abélard," pp. 282–83.
63. Suger, *Ch.* (L), p. 338; Cart. 88.
64. Doublet, *Histoire*, p. 482; Cart. 59. See Luchaire, *Louis VI*, pp. 199–200, no. 431; Ursmer Berlière, "Le Cardinal Matthieu d'Albano" in Ursmer Berlière, *Mélanges d'histoire bénédictine* (Mardesous, 1897–1902), vol. 4, p. 19. Bishop Stephen of Paris said in the charter cited in note 42 here: "Cumque qui aderant de enormitate et miseria monacharum [for monacharum] illarum eliminenda, omnes conclamarent, prelibato cum illis quos supra nominavimus consilio, tum propter eius quam comperimus iusticiam, tum etiam potissimum propter monasterii illius in sancta religione inmutationem . . . prefatum monasterium Argentoilense, gratuitis sanctorum martyrum beneficiis restituimus."
65. Félibien, *Histoire*, preuves p. xcv, no. 126; Cart. 61.
66. *PL*, vol. 166, col. 1297AB (JL 7372; Cart. 63); *PL*, vol. 179, col. 65B (JL 7426; Cart. 67).
67. Doublet, *Histoire*, pp. 869–70, granting Chaumont "cum omnibus appendiciis suis, quam nos et antecessores nostri longo tempore in dominacutura habueramus, libere et quiete in perpetuum possidendam sicut libere habebamus," and instructing the abbot "ut contra antiquam ecclesie vestrae dignitatem archiepiscopo Rothomagensi vel ministris eius nullatenus obediat, nec per eum sine clamore abbatis iustitiam teneatis." See Achille Luchaire, *Études sur les actes de Louis VII* (Paris, 1885), pp. 152–53, nos. 167–68.
68. Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 183–84.
69. *PL*, vol. 180, cols. 1347–48 (JL 9256–57; Cart. 188).
70. *PL*, vol. 180, col. 1354 (JL 9272; Cart. 190).
71. See *PL*, vol. 180, cols. 1368–69 (JL 9297; Cart. 198), col. 1379CD (JL 9311; Cart. 209), col. 1380AB (JL 9312; Cart. 207), col. 1415AC (JL 9387; Cart. 284).
72. Suger, *Let.* (L), p. 250; Cart. 196.
73. Suger, *Let.* (L), p. 255; Cart. 206.
74. Bernard, Ep. 369 in Leclercq, *Opera*, vol. 8, p. 328; see also Ep. 370, p. 329. On this case, see Marcel Pacaut, *Louis VII et son royaume* (Paris, 1964), p. 79.
75. John of Salisbury, *Historia*, pp. 15–17.
76. Suger, *Let.* (L), pp. 263–66; Cart. 242.
77. *PL*, vol. 180, cols. 1413–14 (JL 9382). Eugene III confirmed the privileges of Fontevault, saying that the nuns should be blessed by the diocesan bishop provided he was Catholic and in communion with the Holy See (vol. 1413CD).
78. Émile Epiphanius Morel, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Corneille de Compiègne* (Montdidier, 1904–1909), vol. 1, p. 115, no. 62. On this case, see Richard Hirsch, *Studien zur Geschichte König Ludwigs VII. von Frankreich (1119–1160)* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 73–75; Aubert, *Suger*, pp. 60–61; and Pacaut, *Louis VII*, pp. 79–80.
79. Morel, *Cartulaire*, vol. 1, p. 119.
80. *Ibid.*, pp. 116–18 (Suger to Baldwin and Baldwin to Suger), p. 125 (Baldwin to Eugene III). See also Wilmart, "Dialogue," pp. 109, 112.
81. Morel, *Cartulaire*, vol. 1, pp. 121–22 (Suger to Ralph of Vermandois), pp. 125–26 (Baldwin to Eugene III), pp. 127–28 (Suger to Eugene III).
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 129–30; JL 9422.
83. Morel, *Cartulaire*, vol. 1, p. 128 (Suger to Eugene III); see also pp. 124–25 (Suger to Peter the Venerable and Baldwin to Eugene III).
84. *Ibid.*, p. 127 (Suger to Eugene III); see also p. 125 (Baldwin to Eugene III).
85. Peter the Venerable wrote to Innocent II concerning the reform of Luxeuil: "Nam sicut novit sapientia uestra, in negotio religionis facilius possunt noua fundari quam uetera reparari," Ep. 23, in Constable, *Peter the Venerable*, vol. 1, p. 43.
86. Suger, *Ord.* (P), p. 122.
87. Suger, *Ch.* (L), p. 363; Cart. 313.
88. Chazaud, *Fragments*, p. 101, no. 59; Cart. 81; Chénon, *Chapelle-Aude*, p. 99 and no. 63.
89. Cartellieri, *Suger*, pp. 81–82; Panofsky, *Suger*, pp. 7–9; Aubert, *Suger*, pp. 22–38; and Pacaut, *Louis VII*, pp. 37, 139.
90. Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 156–58, 162; see also the description of his activities at Toury, p. 172. Cartellieri, *Suger*, gives lists both of specific increases (p. 104 n. 1) and of the revenues referred to in *De administratione* (p. 185).
91. Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), pp. 212–14.
92. Tardif, *Monuments*, no. 506 (Cart. 291); Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 182; *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, p. 411 (*De sancta Gauburge* 25; *Inv.*, p. 331, no. 288 [ca. 1150]). See, more generally, Giles Constable, "The Financing of the Crusades in the Twelfth Century," *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer* (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 64–88.
93. Ulysse Robert, *Bullaire du pape Calixte II, 1119–1124*, 2 vols.

- (Paris, 1891), vol. 2, p. 264, no. 451; JL 7113; Cart. 35. This letter is undated and may have been issued before Suger became abbot.
94. Tardif, *Monuments*, no. 391 (Cart. 38); Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), p. 228. See Léon Levillain, "Essai sur les origines du Lendit," *Revue historique* 155 (1927): 241–76, esp. pp. 247, 251; Lebel, *Histoire*, pp. 206–7; and Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 29–30. I have not seen V. Thonet, "Notes sur l'origine de la foire de Lendit à Saint-Denis (Seine)," *Fédération folklorique de l'Île de France. Bulletin trimestriel* (1951–53): 424–26, cited in the *Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine* 5:473*, no. 3671, who proposed that the fair originated at Lendelinicurtis.
 95. Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 157–58.
 96. *PL*, vol. 179, cols. 93–95 (JL 7472; Cart. 70), cited passage col. 94B. On col. 94C the rights to Lendit were defined as "Omnimodam potestatem, omnemque justitiam, et universas consuetudines nundinarum indicti, ipsius regis liberalitate vobis concessas." For the arrangement with the counts of Morsberg, see Suger, *Cb.* (L), pp. 323–24; Tardif, *Monuments*, no. 397 (Cart. 45–46); and Michel Parisse, "Saint-Denis et ses biens en Lorraine et en Alsace," *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1967, pp. 250–51. On the Vexin, see the article by Barroux cited in note 17 here.
 97. Doublet, *Histoire*, pp. 479–80, 480 (Cart. 43, 51). See also the unpublished charter of Bartholomew in *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, p. 212 (*De Claro Fonte* 6; *Inv.*, pp. 273–74, no. 249 [ca. 1130]; Cart. 32 [1122/51]) concerning the agreement between Suger and the canons of Clairefontaine over the tithes of Sorbais, of which Suger granted a third to the canons in return for two measures of grain for the major tithe and twelve pennies of Châlons for the minor tithe.
 98. See Doublet, *Histoire*, p. 492 (Cart. 116), for the grant of a church by Bishop Nicholas in 1144.
 99. Given by Louis VII in 1144/5 together with two others not mentioned in this bull: Tardif, *Monuments*, no. 469 (Cart. 118).
 100. Félibien, *Histoire*, preuves p. cvii, no. 137 (Cart. 140).
 101. *PL*, vol. 180, cols. 1339–41 (JL 9247; Cart. 186). At least six of these properties are referred to in *De administratione*.
 102. Adrian Morey and Christopher N. L. Brooke, *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 100–101, no. 66. See also the writ of King Stephen for Reading in *Regesta* (note 21 here), vol. 3, p. 252, no. 680 (1135/48). On Deerhurst, see [John Nichols], *Some Account of the Alien Priories . . . in England and Wales*, 2 vols. (London, 1779), vol. 2, pp. 117–19; and David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2d ed. (London, 1971), p. 64; and, on Prior Roderick, David Knowles, Christopher N. L. Brooke, and Vera London, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 940–1216* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 102.
 103. Avrom Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury*, University of London Historical Studies, 2 (London, 1956), pp. 433–34, no. 211 (identifying Saint-Denis as the Augustinian priory of that name in Southampton).
 104. Tardif, *Monuments*, no. 466; Cart. 113.
 105. Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 168. See also the description of Toury there on p. 171.
 106. Tardif, *Monuments*, no. 479; Cart. 122.
 107. See, among others, the agreements with Ourscamp, in Achille Peigné-Delacourt, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame d'Ourscamp*, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie. Documents inédits concernant la province, 6 (Amiens, 1865), p. 35, no. 53 (Cart. 33a), with Saint-Mihiel, referred to in the bull of Innocent II in *PL*, vol. 179, cols. 111–12 (JL 7502; Cart. 76), and with Clairefontaine, of which one is cited in note 97 here and another is in *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, p. 219 (*De Claro Fonte* 17; *Inv.*, pp. 332–33, no. 292 [ca. 1151]).
 108. Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 173.
 109. *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, p. 271 (*De collatione ecclesiarum* 25; *Inv.*, p. 296, no. 262 [ca. 1137]; Cart. 31 [1122/49]), which specified that "saluo tamen iure et dignitate ecclesie nostre et nostro uidelicet episcopi et archidiaconi, ut sicut prius ecclesie predictae fuere semper nobis obnoxie, in synodis reddendis, in circariis, in iusticiis tenendis, in omni obedientia, ita semper erunt."
 110. *Cart. blanc*, vol. 1, p. 903 (*De Monte Melliano* 17; *Inv.*, p. 270, no. 246 [1130]); see Luchaire, *Louis VI*, pp. 211–12, no. 453.
 111. Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 156–57; and the charter there on p. 339. See Aryeh Grabois, "L'Abbaye de Saint-Denis et les Juifs sous l'abbatiat de Suger," *Annales* 24 (1969): 1188–91.
 112. Tardif, *Monuments*, no. 479 (Cart. 122); Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 172; and Suger, *Let.* (D), no. 99, p. 526 (Cart. 172). See Cartellieri, *Suger*, pp. 88–89, 98 n. 2.; and Lebel, *Histoire*, pp. 38ff. on the officials of Saint-Denis, esp. pp. 66–71 on the advocates.
 113. Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 164–67, 169, 173.
 114. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
 115. Suger, *Cb.* (L), pp. 360–61 (Cart. 121). See also Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 164–67; and Cartellieri, *Suger*, pp. 94–95.
 116. Ayzac, *Histoire*, vol. 1, pp. 74–75; and Lebel, *Histoire*, p. 175, who (referring to the period after 1151) said: "La vraie politique de l'abbaye consiste à défricher"
 117. Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 167, 185 (fishponds and *aquaria*, on which see Cartellieri, *Suger*, pp. 89–90, 187 n. 1, who cited differing views on whether it was a fishing-right or a *droit de travers*).
 118. Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 158. See Lebel, *Histoire*, pp. 186–89, referring to vineyards at Beaune-la-Rolande, Saint-Lucien, and Essones.
 119. Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 170. See Lebel, *Histoire*, pp. 24–25.
 120. Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 158 (mill), p. 160 (oven), p. 182 (mill and oven) (see Cartellieri, *Suger*, p. 187); *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, pp. 173, 178 (*De Curte Superiori* 1, 8; *Inv.*, pp. 331–32, nos. 289 [ca. 1150], 291 [ca. 1150]), referring to an oven; and the charter cited in note 6 here. See Lebel, *Histoire*, p. 134.
 121. On these rights, see Cartellieri, *Suger*, p. 187; Lebel, *Histoire*, p. 8 n. 14; Van de Kieft, *Chapelle-Aude*, pp. 99, 126 (on the *vicaria*); and Grabois, "Saint-Denis et les Juifs," pp. 1188–91.
 122. Suger, *Cb.* (L), pp. 319–22 (Cart. 44). *Inv.*, p. 325, no. 282

- (1147) (Cart. 151) cites a lost charter of Bishop Manasses of Orléans freeing a serf at the request of Suger.
123. Claude Gaier, "Documents relatifs aux domaines hesbignons de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France," *Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire* 127 (1961): 180–88, see also pp. 167–73, showing that the controversy continued at least into the mid-1160s. See Giles Constable, "Monasticism, Lordship, and Society in the Twelfth-Century Hesbaye: Five Documents on the Foundation of the Cluniac Priory of Bertrée," *Traditio* 33 (1977): 215.
 124. *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, p. 219 (in note 107 here).
 125. Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 176. See Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, N.S. 10 (Cambridge, 1964), p. 107.
 126. Chazaud, *Fragments*, pp. 101–28; and Chénon, *Chapelle-Aude*, pp. 32–49, 151–59. See Van de Kieft, "Deux diplômes," pp. 421–24; and *Chapelle-Aude*, pp. 48, 58–63, on Odo and his role in creating the alleged forgeries.
 127. Chazaud, *Fragments*, pp. 108–9, no. 68; and Chénon, *Chapelle-Aude*, no. 50. See Van de Kieft, *Chapelle-Aude*, p. 14, who accepted the authenticity of this document although it is written in the hand of the scribe who was responsible for a group of forgeries.
 128. Chazaud, *Fragments*, pp. 104–5, no. 63; Cart. 120; and Chénon, *Chapelle-Aude*, no. 93 (1144/5). See Hirsch, *Studien*, p. 37.
 129. Chazaud, *Fragments*, p. 120, no. 79; Cart. 64; Chénon, *Chapelle-Aude*, no. 55; also Chazaud, *Fragments*, pp. 121–22, nos. 80, 82; Cart. 68; and Chénon, *Chapelle-Aude*, nos. 56–57.
 130. Chazaud, *Fragments*, pp. 105–6, 121–22, nos. 64–65, 81; JL 7438–39, 7503; Cart. 72–73, 75; and Chénon, *Chapelle-Aude*, nos. 59, 61.
 131. Chazaud, *Fragments*, pp. 107, 123, nos. 66, 83; Cart. 77–78; and Chénon, *Chapelle-Aude*, nos. 58, 62.
 132. See the royal confirmation (1122/37) of Suger's agreement with Hugh Balver, which restricted his powers as advocate of Laversine (Tardif, *Monuments*, no. 427; Cart. 28) and the papal confirmation (1131) of the settlement by Matthew of Albano and six other judges of the dispute between Saint-Denis and Saint-Mihiel over Salonne (*PL*, vol. 179, cols. 111–12; JL 7502; Cart. 76), which was settled again in 1148 by Archbishop Adalbero of Trier (Tardif, *Monuments*, no. 501; Cart. 182).
 133. Chazaud, *Fragments*, p. 104, no. 62; Cart. 27; Chénon, *Chapelle-Aude*, p. 68 and no. 84; and Van de Kieft, *Chapelle-Aude*, p. 81. The hermits also agreed to receive no other brothers without permission from the prior of Chapelle-Aude.
 134. Doublet, *Histoire*, p. 494; Cart. 110 (1142/51). See Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 177–82; and the charter in Suger, *Cb.* (L), p. 339; Joseph Depoin, *Notre-Dame des Champs. Prieuré dyonisien d'Essonne* (Corbeil, 1904), pp. 26–30; and Lebel, *Histoire*, p. 33.
 135. Suger, *Cb.* (L), p. 339; Cart. 88. See Ayzac, *Histoire*, vol. 2, pp. 110–11; Cartellieri, *Suger*, p. 182; and Lebel, *Histoire*, pp. 8–9.
 136. See the documents cited in note 96 here; Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 183; and the charter in Suger, *Cb.* (L), p. 339 (Cart. 88). See Parisse, "Saint-Denis," pp. 250–51.
 137. Suger, *Cb.* (L), p. 340 (Cart. 88). See Émile Duvernoy, "Une Enclave Lorraine en Alsace. Liepvre et L'Allemand-Rombach," *Mémoires de l'Académie de Stanislas*, 6th ser., 9 (1911–12): 98–112, esp. pp. 100 and 108 on its connection with Saint-Denis; and Parisse, "Saint-Denis," pp. 253–54. Lebraha and Liepvre are apparently identified by these two scholars, and also by Cartellieri, *Suger*, p. 180, who calls it Lebereau, and by Laurent H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 3 vols. (Mâcon, 1939–70), vol. 1, cols. 1578, 1606. Félibien, *Histoire*, preuves p. ccxxiii, and index s.n., however, who was in a position to know, distinguished them as Saint-Hippolyte at Val-du [le]-Lièvre and Saint-Alexandre at Lebraha (Lebraw).
 138. *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, pp. 401–11 (*De sancta Gauburge* 1–25); the documents cited in note 132 here and Parisse, "Saint-Denis," pp. 251–53 (on Salonne); *Inv.*, pp. 283–84, no. 257 (1135) (Cart. 86) (on Reuilly); and, on the others, notes 58, 102, and 126ff. here.
 139. Félibien, *Histoire*, preuves p. ccxxiii, adds Saint-Clair-sur-Epte (Cottineau, *Répertoire*, vol. 2, col. 2634), Saint-Blaise at Grandpuits (Cottineau, *Répertoire*, vol. 1, col. 1330), Saint-Denis at Marnay (Cottineau, *Répertoire*, vol. 2, col. 1767), and Fumellis in Spain. Saint-Gobert in the diocese of Laon, which is listed in Cottineau, *Répertoire*, vol. 2, col. 2721, is mentioned simply as a church in JL 9247 (in note 101 here).
 140. Suger, *Cb.* (L), p. 339; Cart. 88. Later, in referring to the provisions for celebrating his anniversary in five specific priories, Suger again said, "*Nec minus in omnibus Beati Dionysii cellis, tam propinquis quam remotis, anniversarium nostrum orationumque instantiam, missam pro defunctis semel in ebdomada rogantes obnix impetravimus*" (p. 340).
 141. The repeated references to *monachus vel maior* in Tardif, *Monuments*, no. 427 (Cart. 28; Luchaire, *Louis VI*, p. 273, no. 602), suggest, in this context, that *monachus* was the same as provost.
 142. Suger, *Let.* (D), no. 99, p. 526; Cart. 172 (1147/9).
 143. Tardif, *Monuments*, no. 427; Cart. 28.
 144. Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 167. See Cartellieri, *Suger*, p. 48.
 145. *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, p. 220 (*De Claro Fonte* 18; *Inv.*, pp. 281–82, no. 256 [1134]).
 146. Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 162, 169. In the charter cited in notes 141 and 143 here, Louis mentioned the servant or sergeant of the *maior*.
 147. Tardif, *Monuments*, no. 479; Cart. 122 (see Cartellieri, *Suger*, p. 99 n. 2, who called this the only reference to *decanus*); charter 13 in Suger, *Cb.* (L), p. 364; Cart. 313.
 148. On these and other rural officials, see Cartellieri, *Suger*, pp. 98–101, who corrected Luchaire in distinguishing the provostships from the priories (p. 100 n. 3); and Lebel, *Histoire*, pp. 38–51 (on the *maior*), pp. 51–59 (on the provosts), and pp. 62–66 (on the sergeants). The bailiffs discussed on pp. 60–62 appear later, and there is no discussion of the *decanus*.
 149. *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, p. 557 (in note 6 here).

150. Suger, *Adm.* (P), p. 76. See Ayzac, *Histoire*, vol. 2, p. 209 n. 2.
151. *Cartulaire de la Chamberrie* (Paris, Archives nationales, LL 1172), p. 11 = fol. 22r; *Inv.*, pp. 329–30, no. 285 (1149); Cart. 257.
152. See note 147 here.
153. Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 169, 175.
154. On Matthew and his family, see Joseph Depoin, *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, Archives de la France monastique 13, 16, 18, 20–21, 5 vols. (Ligugé and Paris, 1912–21), vol. 1, p. 193 n. 305, vol. 2, p. 196 n. 298; and Tardif, *Monuments*, nos. 448, 557 (Luchaire, *Louis VII*, p. 237, no. 428). Ayzac, *Histoire*, vol. 1, p. 372, called him count of Beaumont. In 1148 he granted to Saint-Martin-des-Champs the tithes of Saint-Brice-sous-Montmorency, of which Suger was suzerain for two thirds and Matthew of Montmorency for one third: Depoin, *Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, vol. 2, pp. 196–200, nos. 308–10.
155. *Cart. blanc*, vol. 1, pp. 240–42 (*De feodis emptis* 4; *Inv.*, pp. 253–61, no. 236 [1125]; Cart. 49). This important charter deserves further study. Cartellieri, *Suger*, pp. 93–94, counted over forty vassals, and Aubert, *Suger*, p. 25, considered it as evidence that Suger had a census of the property of Saint-Denis made in about 1125.
156. Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 164, 166, 173–74; Suger, *Cons.* (P), p. 94 (and 216–17 on Milo of Bray); and Suger, *Vita Lud.* (W), s. n. in index.
157. Tardif, *Monuments*, no. 410; Cart. 83. See also *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, p. 23 (*De Tauriaco* 11; *Inv.*, pp. 247–48, no. 232 [ca. 1124]; Cart. 30 [1122/48]) concerning a military fief held from the king's benefice and restored to Saint-Denis with his permission.
158. Otto Oexle, *Forschungen zu monastischen und geistlichen Gemeinschaften westfränkischen Bereich*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 31 (Munich, 1978), pp. 117–19. See Félibien, *Histoire*, p. 258 (200 monks in 1294); Ayzac, *Histoire*, vol. 1, p. 52 (180 monks under Philip Augustus); and Cartellieri, *Suger*, p. 101 n. 3.
159. Suger, *Ch.* (L), pp. 340–41, 343–44, 349; Cart. 88–90.
160. On the *pueri*, see Ayzac, *Histoire*, vol. 1, pp. 12–13.
161. This list is based on the evidence in the charter cited in note 6 here and those in Suger, *Ch.* (L), pp. 322, 340 (and 337), 343, 348; Cart. 44, 88–90.
162. Doublet, *Histoire*, pp. 479–80, 490, 492; Cart. 43, 51, 80, 116; Gaier, "Documents," p. 186. The chamberlain cited in these charters, which date from 1125 to 1144, was named Peter, and he was probably the same as the *frater Petrus* who was invested with the altar of Roubaix by the archdeacon of Laon in the charter of ca. 1124 cited in note 28 here.
163. Suger, *Ord.* (P), p. 126. Ducange, in his *Glossarium*, s. v., refers to the position only at Saint-Denis and, as *coenarius*, at Saint-Maur-des-Fossés.
164. *PL*, vol. 186, col. 1471A. See Glaser, "Wilhelm," pp. 282–83. The number of officials named William raises the possibility that the address was rhetorical. The chartographer, one priest, and one subdeacon were named William among the witnesses to Suger's will (see note 159 here). The priest and subdeacon also appear on a charter in Suger, *Ch.* (L), pp. 343–44, and a chaplain named William witnessed Suger's grant to Longpont in 1150, in Suger, *Ch.* (L), p. 364 (Cart. 313).
165. Wilmart, "Dialogue," pp. 109–10. See Glaser, "Wilhelm," pp. 306–8.
166. Wilmart, "Dialogue," p. 102 (referring to the region of Poitou or Bourges, England, Arras, and Ferrières), and pp. 108–9 (referring to the Second Crusade and Compiègne). See Van de Kieft, *Chapelle-Aude*, pp. 58–59, 172–73; and Glaser, "Wilhelm," pp. 310–13.
167. William, *Vita Sug.* (L), p. 386; and Suger, *Ch.* (L), pp. 340, 343, 348, charters 7–9.
168. On the sections of this and other Saint-Denis cartularies, see Lebel, *Catalogue*, p. v.
169. On the refectory, see charters 4 and 7, in Suger, *Ch.* (L), pp. 326–31, 333–41 (Cart. 41, 88), where Suger indicated the sources of the grain, wine, and money needed to commemorate his own anniversary; on the almonry, pp. 332–33 (Cart. 29); on the treasury, pp. 320, 342–44 (Cart. 44, 89), where provision was made to pay certain revenues to the treasurer rather than the abbot; and Suger, *Cons.* (P), p. 102. For grants for lighting, see Tardif, *Monuments*, no. 469 (Cart. 118); and Félibien, *Histoire*, preuves p. cvii, no. 137 (Cart. 140).
170. Suger, *Ch.* (L), pp. 319–64 (cited passages on pp. 320, 331, 332). See also Suger, *Cons.* (P), p. 102.
171. 1125: *Cart. blanc*, vol. 1, p. 240 (in note 155 here) ("*rogatu domni Sugerii abbatis et totius conuentus*"); 1126: Doublet, *Histoire*, p. 480 (Cart. 51) ("*pro amore karis. fratris Sugerii eiusdem loci abbatis totiusque conventus*"); *Cart. de la Chamberrie*, p. 142 (in note 28 here) ("*cum toto ipsius capitulo*"); 1129: *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, p. 278 (in note 42 here); 1131: *PL*, vol. 111D (JL 7502; Cart. 76) ("*tam concessione capituli vestri quam impressione sigilli*"); 1133: Chazaud, *Fragments*, p. 101, no. 59 ("*favente ac consentiente toto capitulo Sancti Dyonisii*"); 1135: *Inv.*, pp. 283–84, no. 257 (in note 138 here); 1148: Depoin, *Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, vol. 2, p. 196, no. 308 ("*cum assensu capituli sui*"); 1122/44: *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, p. 419 (*De sancta Gauburge* 45; *Inv.*, pp. 274–75, no. 250 [ca. 1130]; Cart. 42) ("*donnus Sugerius abbas ecclesie sancti Dyonisii totusque conventus fratrum*"); 1122/48: *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, p. 23 (in note 157 here) ("*sollicitante abbate sancti Dyonisii Sugerio et monachis eius*"); 1122/49: *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, p. 271 (in note 109 here); 1122/51: *Cart. blanc*, vol. 2, p. 212 (in note 97 here) ("*consilio et assensu fratrum suorum*"); and 1122/51: Peigné-Delacourt, *Ourscamp*, p. 35, no. 53 ("*totius capituli mei assensu*").
172. Muckle, "Abelard's Letter," pp. 198–99.
173. See Giles Constable, "The Authority of Superiors in Religious Communities in the Middle Ages," in George Makdisi, Dominique Sourdel, Janine Sourdel-Thomine, eds., *La Notion d'autorité au moyen âge: Islam, Byzance, Occident*, Colloques internationaux de La Napoule, 23–26 octobre 1978 (Paris, 1982), pp. 189–210.

Suger, Theology, and the Pseudo-Dionysian Tradition*

Grover A. Zinn, Jr.

TO ASSESS the thought of Suger of Saint-Denis and identify the sources that nurtured and guided his thinking are difficult for a variety of reasons. Chief among them is the fact that Suger was neither a theologian nor a systematic reflective thinker like such contemporaries as Hugh of Saint-Victor, William of Conches, or Abelard. Suger left no theological writings, strictly speaking, and he does not appear as a major figure in books on the development of twelfth-century thought. Yet the abbot of Saint-Denis was influenced by a very specific and important set of theological ideas when he built and furnished the new church for his abbey. It is the church and Suger's treatises bearing on its construction and consecration that stand as witnesses to the abbot's perception and use of key theological ideas gaining new or renewed currency in early twelfth-century France.¹

For access to Suger's thought-world we must enter through the church and seek the ideas that inform the structure, the iconography, the furnishings, and Suger's interpretation of these. Such an inquiry reveals no systematic statement from Suger but, rather, an assortment of clues that must be traced and linked with other ideas and people in the spectrum of twelfth-century thought. The clues are of two types: first, the literary clues left in Suger's treatises and his poems associated with the church; second, the visual clues left in the art of the church. Very much like the medieval exegete who found that he had to crack the shell to get the kernel, or pierce the dry honeycomb to taste the sweet honey of the deeper sense of Scripture, so we must deal with bare words and images in Suger's texts and building in order to grasp the once-living fabric of his thought, thought that shaped a major monument in the history of Western Christianity.²

A second task in assessing Suger's thought is the pressing need to set his ideas in a broader context. The studies that laid

the foundation for our present understanding of Suger's ideas paid too little attention to the twelfth-century setting. Perhaps this was due to a focus too narrowly on Suger, viewing him as almost single-handedly appropriating the pseudo-Dionysian ideas that inspired him. Certainly Erwin Panofsky tended to see the abbot in this manner, for he pointed directly from Suger to John Scotus Eriugena and, through that ninth-century figure, to pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. Panofsky skillfully brought to light the Dionysian elements in Suger's thought, but there is a conspicuous need in his work for greater consideration of twelfth-century thought as well as a more careful separation of Dionysian and Eriugenian texts.³ Otto von Simson has shown a broader conception of the non-Eriugenian sources and twelfth-century influences, but continuing studies have made it increasingly clear how much more precisely we can delineate both the context for, and the process of, interpreting Suger's church and the iconography associated with it.⁴ What is needed is a wider consideration of issues and ideas related to symbolism, cosmological speculation, and the knowledge of God and spiritual realities as these were understood by Suger's contemporaries. Only by seeing Suger's prose, poetry, and actual church in relation to contemporary theological thought and literary discussions can we truly appreciate the way in which he drew upon Dionysian ideas, together with traditional iconographic and theological materials.⁵

To begin this examination, I wish to explore Suger's relation to a major twelfth-century thinker, Hugh of Saint-Victor, while keeping in mind two other points of view: the school of Chartres and the tradition of Dionysian interpretation and speculative thought stemming from John Scotus Eriugena. Hugh, the Chartrians, and Eriugena were each variously concerned with symbolic modes of discourse and speculative cosmologies, issues

present in Suger's work also. As a result of the pioneering work of Marie-Dominique Chenu and Henri de Lubac, the importance of symbolic modes of thought in the twelfth century has been increasingly appreciated.⁶ Recently, the writings of Bernard McGinn on Isaac of Stella, of Peter Dronke on medieval uses of fabulae, of Winthrop Wetherbee on literature and myth, and of Brian Stock on myth and science have deepened our understanding not only of medieval symbolic thinking but also of the importance of the related topic of cosmological speculation in twelfth-century literary, philosophical, and theological circles.⁷

Chartrians are particularly important in relation to Hugh and Suger. In *The Gothic Cathedral*, von Simson emphasized geometric and mathematical aspects of Chartrian cosmological speculation that he found important in relation to the emergence of Gothic form.⁸ Of possibly greater significance for understanding twelfth-century ideas on symbolism is the kind of analytic reflection on the nature of symbols carried out by a Chartrian author like William of Conches or in the works of a contemporary theologian, Abelard.⁹ When brought into conjunction with William's own attempts at cosmological speculation, which drew upon Macrobius, Boethius, and the *Timaeus* and introduced the symbol of the golden chain to represent the inherent unity and hierarchical ordering of the universe, this reflection on the nature of symbolic representation begins to lay the foundation for the speculative cosmological poems of Alain of Lille and Bernard Silvestris as well as other medieval uses of fabulae.¹⁰ Suger would have heartily disagreed with William, Alain, and Bernard at key points, but the speculative cosmologies and concern for symbols shared by these men must be seen as part of a twelfth-century phenomenon of which Suger's work was but one aspect.

Away from Chartres and nearer to Saint-Denis, interest in symbols and in cosmological schemes of a different sort drew men to the writings of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite rather than to those of Macrobius. The place was the royal abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris, a community of regular canons founded in the early twelfth century by William of Champeaux that soon became a major center of intellectual and religious life in the region. There Hugh of Saint-Victor, founder of the abbey's distinctive traditions of exegesis, theology, and contemplation, composed his famous commentary on pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's *Celestial Hierarchy* in the 1120s.¹¹ Hugh's interpretation laid the groundwork for the incorporation of the Dionysian tradition into the theological and contemplative traditions of the medieval West. His definition of a symbol as "a gathering together of visible forms in order to 'demonstrate' invisible ones" is justly recognized as conveying the ability of symbols to transcend verbal categories.¹² Moreover, it shows the creative thought to be found in this commentary touching on matters of contemplation, beauty, the Eucharist, and other theological topics.

The writings of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite were available to Hugh and others of his generation in the translation by John Scotus Eriugena, accompanied by John's own commentary on the *Celestial Hierarchy*, and a translation of Greek glosses, especially those of Maximus the Confessor.¹³ Eriugena's presence was felt strongly in the twelfth century through his association with the Dionysian tradition, even though on other grounds he was suspected of heresy and not always openly cited. Eriugena's own speculative ideas were known through the text of his *Periphyseon*, while the *Clavis physicae* of Honorius Augustodunensis succeeded in popularizing Eriugena's ideas, especially cosmological ones, in the twelfth century.¹⁴

With the Chartrians, Hugh, and Eriugena to provide something of a context, let us now turn to clues from Suger. A major indication of Suger's outlook is found in the poem for the gilt-bronze doors of the central portal of the new west facade. The poem has been celebrated as a compact summary of the whole theory of anagogical illumination as presented by pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and his translator-commentator, Eriugena.¹⁵ In fact, the poem offers much more than a summary of the Dionysian notion that the things of the material world (described in the poem as *vera lumina*, true lamps) can lead minds upward to the True Light (*vera lux*) where Christ is the True Door.¹⁶ Taken in conjunction with the door and its eight carefully crafted relief scenes, the poem presents a critique of the generalized Dionysian and Eriugenian idea that the material world, by virtue of its created existence, is truly able to point in a symbolic sense beyond itself to the invisible realities of the divine world and God.

The poem opens with an admonition to marvel not at the gold and expense but at the labor of the work in the doors. Suger's words echo a similar injunction by Hugh of Saint-Victor, who once told his fellow regular canons that he was placing before them a drawing with colors, shapes, and figures that would be pleasant to behold, but they were to understand that the pleasing figures were there for instruction, in order to teach wisdom and virtue to adorn the soul.¹⁷ In a similar way, the eight medallions on Suger's door were not merely for display or devotion but for instruction that was to be conveyed through scenes skillfully depicted and, perhaps, also through the labor of the divine works portrayed.¹⁸

Following the opening admonition, the poem continues with three lines devoted to the theory of the capacity of matter to lead upward to invisible truth. Then comes the qualification, the criticism. In Panofsky's translation the line reads:¹⁹

In what manner it be inherent in this world, the
golden
door defines:

Even Panofsky was somewhat uncertain about the proper rendering of this crucial line, but the thrust seems to be clear: the golden door defines or determines how it, the True Light, is present and understood through the vehicle of material reality. The defining character of the door is not, however, the general idea that the door in its brilliance and color represents in an exemplary way a multitude of material lamps meant to lead the mind to invisible truth. I would like to suggest that it is the iconography of the door that is meant to point to a very specific understanding of the way in which visible reality leads to invisible truth.

The eight medallions on Suger's door depicted scenes from Christ's Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension, including a representation of Christ and the two disciples at Emmaus, with Abbot Suger himself included in the latter scene.²⁰ The poem and medallions make a simple but crucial point: only through the crucified, risen, and ascended Christ does a person have access to the true meaning of the material world that leads to the True Light. Not a general symbolic cosmos, with material lights leading upward to truth, but a specifically Christocentric cosmos emphasizing the humanity of Christ and the significance of His Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension for the symbolic function of the material world is proclaimed by the poem and the doors.

From this perspective the Emmaus scene may take on new importance. Although its presence may be due to liturgical connections and the popularity in twelfth-century France of the incident as a dramatic part of the Easter Monday liturgy, the fact that Suger had himself depicted in the scene makes it likely that it had a deeper programmatic significance. In the medieval commentary tradition stemming from Gregory the Great, the theme of seeing physically but not discerning truly in an inward, spiritual way is part of the interpretation of the Emmaus narrative.²¹ With physical eyes the disciples behold their fellow pilgrim, who is actually their risen Lord. But they fail to perceive the truth of what they see—the true identity of their fellow pilgrim—until instructed and, indeed, illumined by the risen Christ Himself in the breaking of bread. Suger seems to be making a similar point and includes himself visually. Pilgrims in this life, distant from spiritual realities, must begin with the material world—even with the humanity of Christ—to gain access to truth through material images. But the truth of these images becomes clear only in relation to the crucified, risen, and ascended Christ. The Emmaus scene, with the others, suggests that Suger was concerned to convey the idea that only through the works of redemption associated with Christ can the works of creation, the material world, be rightly understood and interpreted as lamps that lead to the True Light.

In distinguishing the works of redemption from the works of creation, I am putting categories drawn from the theology of

Hugh of Saint-Victor into Suger's mouth, as it were. Suger was, I believe, fundamentally influenced by Hugh in his conception of the function of the doors and other aspects of his iconographical program at Saint-Denis. The distinction between the two works was fundamental to Hugh's theology, his idea of history, and his interpretation of the writings of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.

In the preface to his commentary on the *Celestial Hierarchy*, Hugh notes that although all theology uses visible things to understand invisible realities, there are two distinct theologies: there is mundane theology (*mundana theologia*), which is limited to using the *simulacrum* of nature, or the visible things of this world, in order to gain access to invisible spiritual reality; and there is divine theology (*divina theologia*), which makes primary use of the *simulacrum* of grace, the humanity of the Word.²² God is manifest in both *simulacra*, but he is not understood in both. Nature can demonstrate the Creator, but humans perceive and understand this in an empty and erring way.²³ Only the *simulacrum* of grace can clarify the eye of reason, blinded in the Fall, so that the world and divine reality can again be understood in true perspective. Then the world can again have the quality of leading through the visible to the invisible things of God. The subject of divine theology is the works of restoration, which Hugh understands as the humanity of Jesus—or the Incarnation of the Word—together with His sacraments from the beginning of time. This theology finds its center in the incarnate, crucified, risen, and ascended Lord, who is both Creator and Redeemer and thus unifies the two worlds of material and spiritual realities. In the preface to his commentary, Hugh makes pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite the champion of this theology centered on the "Crucifixion of Christ and the works of the Word in His flesh, in His humanness."²⁴

As René Roques has pointed out, this emphasis upon the centrality of the suffering and humility of Christ, and the theme of his humanity, is completely absent in pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's thought.²⁵ It is absent, in addition, from Eriugena's commentary, as well as from his own theological and speculative construction, as shown by the *Periphyseon*.²⁶ This particular emphasis is of Hugh's own making and contributes a distinctive Victorine theme to the interpretation of the pseudo-Dionysian tradition. In point of fact, it adds a totally new element, drawn from Hugh's own theological position, to provide a principle of interpretation when approaching the symbolic quality of the material world.

A closer look at Hugh's attack on those who devote their energies to mundane theology reveals the basis for his apparent concern. These persons are described as wanting to "erect a ladder, made of the appearances of things, in order to reach to the invisible things of the Creator."²⁷ The mention of a ladder seems innocent enough until we realize that, in introducing the image of

the "golden chain" into his cosmological speculations, William of Conches identified that chain with the ladder of Jacob.²⁸ Hugh may well have had something like this in mind in his criticism. It would be in line with his position, expressed elsewhere, of opposing the speculative cosmologies of the Chartrians and also of questioning their notions, mistaken from his perspective, of the symbolic quality of the world. In following Hugh at this point, perhaps Suger also meant to counter similar cosmic speculations. In this case, perhaps the iconographic programs at Saint-Denis might be read, so to speak, as a statement against certain current cosmological speculations that sought to devalue or ignore the humanity of Christ and the role of His Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension.

Hugh certainly worked out the theological details at greater length than Suger did, but the basic thrust of Hugh's preface and the meaning of Suger's door and poem correspond. Only through Christ, as the crucified, risen, and ascended Lord who is humble and humiliated in His humanity, can one come to a right understanding of the world as a symbol manifesting divine things. Only through the reality represented by the bronze doors can the mind be enlightened, as were the Emmaus pilgrims, so that, in Suger's words concluding the poem,

The dull mind rises to truth through that which is
material,
And, in seeing this light, is resurrected from its
former
submersion.

The strong emphasis upon Christ's humanity in relation to the Crucifixion that we have noted thus far is also found in the symbolism of the back panel Suger had made for the Main Altar. Although no adequate contemporary description of the panel exists, Panofsky was able to reconstruct the probable arrangement of scenes through a careful analysis of Suger's poem for the altar.²⁹ He suggested three pairs of biblical scenes, each pair combining a New Testament event with an Old Testament "prototype." As Panofsky realized, his suggestion that God's promise to Abraham in Genesis 12 was the scene parallel to Christ's entry into Jerusalem was forced and puzzling. Equally puzzling and forced is Panofsky's distorted translation of the line of the poem referring to this particular scene of the panel. He translates:

The promise which Abraham obtains for his seed is sealed
by the flesh of Christ.

A more accurate rendering of the Latin reads:

That which Abraham sacrificed for his offspring,
the flesh of Christ signifies.

The reference remains unclear until we turn to the exegetical tradition. Again, a Victorine author provides an initial clue for interpreting Suger's text. In a section of *Allegories on the Old Testament* by Richard of Saint-Victor, Abraham's near-sacrifice of Isaac is interpreted in such a way that the ram sacrificed by Abraham is taken to represent the humanity of Christ that suffered in the Crucifixion. By way of contrast the divinity of Christ is represented by Isaac, who does not suffer death in Abraham's sacrifice. Richard writes, "Isaac, who did not taste of death in the sacrifice, represents the divinity, which felt neither punishments nor pain in the Passion. The ram, who suffered death, represents humanity, which endured the sharp bitternesses of the Passion."³⁰ The parallel between the ram and Christ's humanity in the allegory corresponds so closely to the parallel between Christ's flesh and "that which Abraham sacrificed for his offspring" that it seems only reasonable to infer that the panel must somewhere have depicted the sacrifice of the ram. Certainly the line in the poem does not refer to the promise of Genesis 12 in the way that Panofsky mistakenly suggested that it should. Nor does it refer to the kind of scene so often found in medieval iconography depicting the near-sacrifice of Isaac.³¹ If the scene on the panel were the sacrifice of the ram, it would represent a striking departure from the usual iconographic presentation of the Abraham-Isaac story. Further investigation of the theme of the sacrifice of the ram is called for. In any case the association of the ram with Christ's humanity and suffering flesh is a distinctive theme to which Richard of Saint-Victor and Suger of Saint-Denis bear mutual witness. Even though Richard's work postdates Suger's altar, the text points to a somewhat unusual theme that was utilized in a new way by Suger. Again, by means of a subtle allegorical signification, Suger has stressed the humanity of Christ in His suffering. The connection of the Old Testament scene with the entry into Jerusalem must remain unexplained at present, although a liturgical link would not be unexpected.

Although we have focused on Suger's poems, there are other clues that point to possible Victorine or other twelfth-century influences. In the well-known passage describing an exalted state of mind reached by concentration on precious stones and their significance, Suger mentions an *anagogicus mos*, an anagogical way. Contrary to Panofsky's implication in his introduction to Suger's treatises, this phrase is used by neither pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite nor Eriugena in the context of the *Celestial Hierarchy*; nor is it found elsewhere in the Dionysian corpus.³² In describing the "way," Suger speaks of being "transported from this inferior to that higher world in an anagogical manner" and of "transferring that which is material to that which is immaterial. . . ."³³ The verb used here, *transfero*, is never used with this same meaning by Eriugena, who uses it in connection with translating or interpreting a word or phrase.³⁴ Suger's usage does not lie there. However, in the mid-twelfth century we find *transfero* used by Richard of Saint-Victor in much the same way Suger

used it in his treatises that were written some twenty years earlier. Richard refers to transferring "any description whatever of visible things to the signification of invisible things." In this way, says Richard, a person "rises up by means of the quality of visible things to knowledge of invisible things."³⁵ This conception, so similar to Suger's, provides a twelfth-century context for Suger's usage.

In another famous passage Suger speaks of a certain new stained-glass window that has the power of "urging us onward from the material to the immaterial."³⁶ The verb used here, *excitans*, is again not used in this way by Eriugena.³⁷ However, it does occur in Hugh of Saint-Victor's commentary in a very important passage. In discussing the relation of visible beauty to invisible beauty, Hugh says, "The human mind, being urged onward [*excitata*], ascends from visible beauty to invisible beauty."³⁸ A single verbal parallel such as this is a frail basis for any firm conclusion, but the parallel is suggestive. It is also notable that the quotation from Hugh occurs in the midst of material that expounds the notion of formal beauty, which M. F. Hearn has recently suggested must lie at the root of the new aesthetic sensibility that informed the iconographic programs of Saint-Denis and Chartres.³⁹

In conclusion, allow me to mention in passing another possible Victorine influence on Suger. In the 1120s Hugh produced a complex drawing that presented in a visual symbol the sum of his cosmological, historical, theological, and contemplative teachings. The drawing no longer exists, but we have Hugh's detailed description of it in *De arca Noe mystica*.⁴⁰ It depicted Christ holding a disk that covered his body, leaving head, hands, and feet visible. The disk represented the cosmos and included intricate

iconographic schemes illustrating the six days of Creation, the twelve months of the year, zodiacal signs and winds, the course of sacred history from Adam to the present, and the Last Judgment. The Last Judgment is depicted at Christ's feet, with the damned and saved shown to the right and left, accompanied by the texts from Matthew's Gospel, much like the scene on the Saint-Denis tympanum:

Come, ye blessed of my father, inherit the
kingdom prepared for you from the
foundation of the world. (Matthew 25:34)

Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting
fire, prepared for the devil and
his angels. (Matthew 25:41)

Hugh's drawing, along with his ideas on the gift of the Holy Spirit and the relationship of Christ's death and Resurrection to the earlier faith and sacraments of the Hebrew people, may contribute to a better understanding of Suger's tympanum and windows.

In relating Suger to Hugh or any other theologian or tradition, we must remember that a precise restatement of an idea may not appear in Suger's work. Suger was not a theologian, as we noted at the outset of this paper. He was, rather, an active thinker, a doer who drew upon a number of sources to inform his new, splendid church dedicated to Saint Denis. That glorious structure reflected both Suger's accomplishments and those of the French crown, as well as the more subtle glory of the True Light manifest in the lesser lamps of this world.

NOTES

* I would like to thank Arnold Klukas and Paula Gerson for helpful suggestions and comments.

1. On the treatises, the church, and Abbot Suger, see Panofsky, *Suger*. The treatises, "De rebus in administratione sua gestis" and "De consecratione ecclesiae sancti Dionysii," are in Lecoy, *Oeuvres*.
2. All considerations of Saint-Denis must begin with the fundamental research of Sumner McK. Crosby on the fabric of the church. Especially important are his efforts, through archaeological excavations and reconstructions guided by modern analytical techniques, to establish the history of the various structures on the site and to identify the actual remains of Suger's twelfth-century constructions in the face of later modifications and "restorations." See his following works: *The Abbey of Saint-Denis*, vol. 1 (New Haven, 1942); *L'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1953); "The West Portals of Saint-Denis and the Saint-Denis Style," *Gesta* 9, no. 2 (1970): 1–11; and *The Apostle Bas-relief at Saint-Denis* (Yale Publications in the

History of Art, 21; New Haven, 1972). Also see Sumner McK. Crosby and Pamela Z. Blum, "Le Portail central de la façade occidentale de Saint-Denis," *Bulletin monumental* 131 (1973): 209–66.

3. See his Introduction in *Suger*, esp. pp. 18–25. Panofsky has a more detailed analysis of key texts in "Note on a Controversial Passage in Suger's *De consecratione ecclesiae sancti Dionysii*," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 24 (1944): 95–114, esp. pp. 105–14. There are valuable remarks on the significance of *claritas* and the weight this term had for Eriugena, Suger, and others of like mind as opposed to the later reinterpretation and devaluation of the term by Thomas Aquinas (p. 113 n. 40). Unfortunately, in his enthusiasm to root Suger's view in that of Eriugena, Panofsky even cites lines from pseudo-Dionysius as coming from the pen of the Scot: see Panofsky, *Suger*, p. 24, where the words "... impossibile est nostro . . . manuductione utatur" are said to be from Eriugena. They are the words of pseudo-Dionysius. See Eriugena, *Expositiones in ierarchiam coelestem* in Jeanne Barbet, ed., *Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis* (Turnholt, 1975), vol. 3, p. 14, ll. 494–98.

4. Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order*, 2d rev. ed. (New York, 1964), pp. 61–141; see also von Simson's general essay, "The Birth of the Gothic," *Measure* 1 (1950): 275–96. Von Simson's sense of the influence of pseudo-Dionysius in the twelfth century points in the right direction, but his broad parallels between Suger and Hugh lack the necessary precision. His appreciation of the role of the School of Chartres is likewise limited in terms of the current understanding of that school and its literary influence.
5. Studies by Sumner McK. Crosby and Pamela Z. Blum continue to clarify the actual twelfth-century church. For the broader setting in the history of art and architecture, see Whitney R. Stoddard, *Art and Architecture in Medieval France* (New York, 1972), pp. 101–11; and more recently, Millard Fillmore Hearn, Jr., *Romanesque Sculpture. The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Ithaca, 1981), pp. 119–223, with its good current bibliography. Louis Grodecki's study of the stained glass opens up many new avenues of understanding; see his "Les Vitraux allégoriques de Saint-Denis," *Art de France* 1 (1961): 19–46, now being supplanted by his new study, *Les Vitraux de Saint-Denis, étude sur le vitrail au XII^e siècle* (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi) France, "Études" (Paris, 1976), vol. 1. See also Konrad Hoffmann, "Sugers 'Anagogisches Fenster' in Saint-Denis," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 30 (1968): 57–88. The studies by Philippe Verdier are important; see his "La Grande croix de l'abbé Suger à Saint-Denis," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 13 (1970): 1–31, and "Suger a-t-il été en France le créateur du thème iconographique du couronnement de la Vierge?" *Gesta* 15, nos. 1–2 (1976): 227–36. Valuable insights will be found in Paula Lieber Gerson, "The West Facade of Saint-Denis: An Iconographic Study" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1970), and in two of her unpublished papers, "The Trinity at Saint-Denis" and "Abbot Suger's Bronze Doors." I am indebted to Paula Gerson for allowing me to use these papers.
6. Marie-Dominique Chenu, *La Théologie au XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1957), esp. chs. 5, 7, and 8. Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1959–64), esp. vol. 2, part 2, pp. 125–262 and vol. 1, part 2, pp. 489–681.
7. Bernard McGinn, *The Golden Chain: A Study in the Theological Anthropology of Isaac of Stella*, Cistercian Studies Series, 15 (Washington, D.C., 1972). Peter Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism* (Leiden, 1974); Winthrop Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres* (Princeton, 1972); and Brian Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester* (Princeton, 1972).
8. Von Simson, *Gothic Cathedral*, pp. 25–39.
9. Dronke, *Fabula*, pp. 11–67. McGinn, *Golden Chain*, pp. 86–102.
10. In addition to the references in note 9 here, see Wetherbee, *Platonism*, chs. 1, 4, and 5; and Stock, *Myth and Science*.
11. The work of Roger Baron, *Science et Sagesse chez Hugues de Saint-Victor* (Paris, 1957), is still fundamental. On Hugh's relation to pseudo-Dionysian thought, see René Roques, "Connaissance de Dieu et théologie symbolique d'après l'In hierarchiam coelestem sancti Dionysii" de Hugues de Saint-Victor," in *Structures théologiques de la gnose à Richard de Saint-Victor*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes-Études, Section des sciences religieuses 72 (Paris, 1962), pp. 294–364; Heinrich Weisweiler, "Die ps.-Dionysiuskommentare 'In coelestem Hierarchiam' des Skotus Eriugena und Hugos von St. Viktor," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 19 (1952): 26–47; Weisweiler, "Sakrament als Symbol und Teilhabe. Der Einfluss des ps.-Dionysius auf die allgemeine Sakramentenlehre Hugos von St. Viktor," *Scholastik* 27 (1952): 321ff.; Weisweiler, "Sacramentum fidei: Augustinische und ps.-dionysische Gedanken in der Glaubenauffassung Hugos von St. Viktor," in Johann Auer and Hermann Volk, eds., *Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Munich, 1957), pp. 433–56; Roger Baron, "Le Commentaire de la Hiérarchie Céleste par Hugues de Saint-Victor," in *Études sur Hugues de Saint-Victor* (Bruges, 1963), pp. 133–213; and Grover A. Zinn, Jr., "De gradibus ascensionum: The Stages of Contemplative Ascent in Two Treatises on Noah's Ark by Hugh of Saint Victor," *Studies in Medieval Culture* 5 (1975): pp. 61–79. For the dating of Hugh's works, see Damien van den Eynde, *Essai sur la succession et la date des écrits de Hugues de Saint-Victor*, Spicilegium Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani, 13 (Rome, 1960), esp. pp. 58–65 on the commentary *In hierarchiam coelestem*. For the founding of the abbey of Saint-Victor and the development of thought there, see Jean Chatillon, "De Guillaume de Champeaux à Thomas Gallus: Chronique d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale de l'école de Saint-Victor," *Revue du moyen âge latin* 8 (1952): 139–62, 247–72; Jean Chatillon, *Théologie, spiritualité, et métaphysique dans l'oeuvre oratoire d'Achard de Saint-Victor* (Paris, 1969), pp. 53–85; and Joachim Ehlers, *Hugo von St. Viktor* (Munster, 1972), pp. 5–27.
12. The judgment is Peter Dronke's in *Fabula*, pp. 44–45, where he mistakenly attributes the definition to Richard of Saint-Victor, apparently unaware that Richard borrowed it from Hugh of Saint-Victor. See Richard, *In apocalypsim*, prol. bk. 1, *PL*, vol. 196, col. 687A, and Hugh, *In hierarchiam coelestem*, bk. 2, *PL*, vol. 175, col. 941B.
13. On the tradition of translation and commentary, see Hyacinthe F. Dondaine, *Le Corpus dionysien de l'Université de Paris au XIII^e siècle*, *Storia e Letteratura* 44 (Rome, 1953). On Eriugena, see Maieul Cappuyns, *Jean Scot Erigène: sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée* (Louvain/Paris, 1933), pp. 150–72, 216–22. More recent contributions include, Jeanne Barbet, "La Tradition du texte latin de la Hiérarchie Céleste dans les manuscrits des *Expositiones in Hierarchiam Caelestem*," in John J. O'Meara and Ludwig Bieler, eds., *The Mind of Eriugena* (Dublin, 1973), pp. 89–97; and René Roques, "Traduction ou interprétation? Brèves remarques sur Jean Scot, traducteur de Denys," in John J. O'Meara and Ludwig Bieler, eds., *The Mind of Eriugena* (Dublin, 1973), pp. 59–77. Numerous aspects of Eriugena's thought are addressed by papers published in *Jean Scot Erigène et l'histoire de la philosophie, Laon 7–12 juillet 1975*, Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, no. 561 (Paris, 1977).
14. On the *Periphyseon*, see Brian Stock, "The Philosophical Anthropology of Johannes Scottus Eriugena," *Studi Medievali*, 3d ser., 8 (1967): 1–57; and Cappuyns's still useful study, *Jean Scot Erigène*, pp. 183–216. A new edition and translation by Inglis P. Sheldon-Williams has appeared, *Johannis Scotti Eri-*

- ugenae Periphyseon (De divisione naturae)*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, vol. 7 (Dublin, 1968). On the *Clavis Physicae*, see Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Le Cosmos symbolique du XII^e siècle," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 20 (1953): 31–81; and Paolo Lucentini, "La *Clavis physicae* di Honorius Augustodunensis e la traduzione eriugeniana nel secolo XII^o," in *Jean Scot Érigène*, pp. 405–14.
15. Panofsky, *Suger*, p. 23. On the doors, see Gerson, "West Facade," pp. 22–26, 100–112; and Gerson, "Bronze Doors."
 16. For *lumina* and *vera lux*, see Suger, *Adm.* (P), pp. 46–48:
- Nobile claret opus, sed opus quod nobile claret
Clarificet mentes, ut eant per lumina vera
Ad verum lumen, ubi Christus janua vera.* (ll. 3–5)
- See also Panofsky's comments, pp. 164–65, and the more detailed analysis in Panofsky, "Controversial Passage," pp. 108–14.
17. Hugh, *De arca Noe morali*, bk. 1.2, *PL*, vol. 176, col. 622BC. English translation is by a Religious of C.S.M.V., *Hugh of Saint-Victor: Selected Spiritual Writings* (London, 1962), p. 52, (bk. 1, ch. 7 in the trans.). On this drawing, see Zinn, "De gradibus ascensionum," and "Mandala Symbolism and Use in the Mysticism of Hugh of Saint Victor," *History of Religions* 12 (1972–73): 317–41; also see Joachim Ehlers, "Arca significat ecclesiam. Ein theologisches Weltmodell aus der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Frühmittelalterlichen Studien* (1972): 171–87.
 18. See the suggestion by Gerson in "Bronze Doors," p. 7. As she correctly notes in this paper, there is a clear need to modify Panofsky's translation of the poem in many particulars.
 19. See Panofsky's comments on the difficulty of translating this line, "Controversial Passage," p. 108 n. 25.
 20. Gerson, "West Facade," pp. 100–103, 105–6, with p. 106 n. 1 pointing out the importance of Suger's presence in the Emmaus scene. On the iconographic problem of the scene, Gerson cites the useful comments in Otto Pächt, Charles Dodwell, and Francis Wormald, *The Saint Albans Psalter* (London, 1960), pp. 73–79.
 21. The commentary tradition connected with the Emmaus narrative is presented by Frank C. Gardiner, *The Pilgrimage of Desire: A Study of Theme and Genre in Medieval Literature* (Leiden, 1971), pp. 1–52.
 22. Hugh, *In hierarchiam coelestem*, bk. 1.1, *PL*, vol. 175, col. 925–26.
 23. Hugh, *In hierarchiam coelestem*, bk. 1.1, *PL*, vol. 175, col. 926AB. On the two *simulacra*, now related by Hugh to the works of Creation and Redemption, see *De sacramentis christianae fidei*, bk. 1, prol. chaps. 1–3 and bk. 1, part 6, chap. 5, *PL*, vol. 176, cols. 183A–84C and 266B–67B, trans. Roy J. Deferrari, *Hugh of Saint Victor on the Sacraments of the Christian Faith* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), pp. 3–4, 97–98. *De tribus diebus*, *PL*, vol. 176, cols. 811–38, lacks the idea of two *simulacra* but treats with detail the movement *de visibilibus ad invisibilia*.
 24. Hugh, *In hierarchiam coelestem*, bk. 1.4, *PL*, vol. 175, col. 930D.
 25. Roques, "Connaissance de Dieu," pp. 301–2.
 26. See Stock, "Philosophical Anthropology," pp. 47–57.
 27. Hugh, *In hierarchiam coelestem*, bk. 1.1, *PL*, vol. 175, cols. 923D–24D. Hugh uses the ladder theme in his own way in *De unione corporis et spiritus*, *PL*, vol. 177, col. 285, cited by Wetherbee, *Platonism*, p. 61.
 28. See McGinn, *Golden Chain*, pp. 88–89.
 29. Suger, *Adm.* (P), p. 62. See pp. 186–88 for Panofsky's comments. The text reads:
- Voce sonans magna Christo plebs clamat: Osanna!
Quae datur in coena tulit omnes hostia vera.
Ferre crucem properat qui cunctos in cruce salvat.
Hoc quod Abram pro prole litat, Christi caro signat.
Melchisedech libat quod Abram super hoste triumphat.
Botrum vecte ferunt qui Christum cum cruce quaerunt.*
30. Richard of Saint-Victor, *Liber exceptionum*, in Jean Chatillon, ed., *Textes Philosophiques du Moyen Age*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1958), pp. 237–38. Most of the material in Richard's text can be found in Isidore of Seville on Genesis and is in the *Glossa ordinaria*, which depends on Isidore at this point. See Chatillon's notes on pp. 237–38. The parallels of ram/humanity and Isaac/divinity do not appear in Isidore or the *Glossa*. There is a hitherto unnoticed parallel to Richard's use however. In his eighth homily on Genesis, Origen presents the ram as representing Christ's human nature and Isaac as representing His divine nature, with references to suffering and not suffering much like Richard's. More research is necessary to trace the development of this theme in Greek and Latin traditions, but the presence of such material in Origen's homilies is significant. See Origen, *Homiliae in Genesim*, bk. 8.9, *PG*, vol. 12, cols. 208D–09A.
 31. For a survey of the iconography, see I. Speyart van Woerden, "The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Abraham," *Vigiliae Christianae* 15 (1961): 214–55.
 32. This is confirmed by reference to the exhaustive indices of words in Barbet, *Expositiones*, pp. 233–358. A further examination of the indices in Philippe Chevallier, ed., *Dionysiaca*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1937), shows that the phrase *anagogicus mos* appears in neither Hilduin's nor Eriugena's translations of the entire corpus of pseudo-Dionysius's works. The word *anagogicus* does, of course, appear a number of times, however it is surprising to discover that the word *mos* appears in translations only in the fifteenth century and later. Then it appears most often in phrases like "in a human manner" or "in the manner of a tyrant." In a few instances *mos* replaces *lex* used in earlier translations.
 33. Suger, *Adm.* (P), pp. 62–65. The text reads: "*de materialibus ad immaterialia transferendo, . . . ab hac etiam inferiori ad illam superiorem anagogico more Deo donante posse transferri.*" For Panofsky's comments, see pp. 20–21.
 34. See the *Index verborum Scoti*, in Barbet, *Expositiones*, p. 321. A typical passage is bk. 1, p. 9: "*Nam ΘΕΑΡΧΙΚΟC ad purum transferri non potest, nisi perperiphrasin . . .*" (ll. 296–97). An exception is found in bk. 2, p. 2: "*Naturaliter quippe materialia omnia in spiritualia transferri appetunt, spiritualia vero ad materialium humiliter utilissimamque extremitatem inclinari nolunt, quo-*

- niam impossibile est*" (ll. 686–89). However, this passage speaks of an inherent, "natural" seeking on the part of material things to be "transferred" to spiritual things. This is not quite what Suger has in mind.
35. See Richard of Saint-Victor, *De duodecim patriarchis*, 22, *PL*, vol. 196, cols. 15B–16A, trans. Grover A. Zinn, Jr., in Richard of Saint-Victor, *The Twelve Patriarchs, The Mystical Ark, Book Three of the Trinity*, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 1979), pp. 74–75.
 36. Suger, *Adm.* (P), p. 74. The passage reads: "*Una quarum de materialibus ad immaterialia excitans.*"
 37. See again the *index verborum Scoti*, Barbet, *Expositiones*, p. 264.
 38. Hugh, *In hierarchiam coelestem*, bk. 2, *PL*, vol. 175, col. 949C: "*Secundum hoc ergo a pulchritudine visibile ad invisibilem pulchritudinem mens humana convenienter excitata ascendit.*"
 39. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture*, p. 212.
 40. Hugh, *De arca Noe mystica*, *PL*, vol. 176, cols. 681–704. See my description and analysis of this drawing and its significance for Victorine ideas about history, theology, and contemplation, in both my "*De gradibus ascensionum*" and "Mandala Symbolism." A somewhat different interpretation of the drawing will be found in Ehlers, "*Arca significat ecclesiam.*"

The Liturgy at Saint-Denis: A Preliminary Study¹

Niels Krogh Rasmussen, O.P.

THE LITURGY at Saint-Denis has never been studied seriously, nor has anyone raised the question of whether or not the liturgical tradition for the twelfth century can be recovered and described from the surviving manuscripts. In this brief paper I will evaluate those sources as carriers of the twelfth-century liturgical practices and, by the questions I ask of the material, point out directions that future research might profitably take.

For an establishment as politically important as Saint-Denis, the absence of any monograph or article devoted to its liturgical tradition seems most surprising. A letter from Dom Anselme Thévard written in 1675 to the liturgist Joseph de Voisin gives evidence of awakening interest.² Yet, since the beginning of systematic liturgical studies, we find only incidental information that has been integrated into studies with a focus other than Saint-Denis itself. From the studies of Leclercq and Gindele on the custom of perpetual praise, for example, we know that at some time before the ninth century the abbey had adopted the *laus perennis* according to the custom of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune.³ Michel Huglo and others have written on aspects of the Greek Mass sung on the Octave of Saint-Denis (October 16).⁴ Martène published some excerpts of ordinaries in his *De Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*,⁵ and Weale published two lists of sequences in his *Thesaurus Hymologicus*.⁶ Beyond this listing, the literature contains very little else, and certainly no comprehensive approach to the abbey's liturgical tradition has been attempted.

In view of the importance and renown of Saint-Denis, the primary source material for the study of its liturgy is not abundant. There are two categories of sources to be considered, the first being "authentically liturgical" texts while the second category consists of "auxiliary" texts.

Liturgical texts, as defined by Cyrille Vogel, are documents that were actually used in the performance of a liturgical rite.⁷ A small number of those manuscripts written for Saint-Denis have survived from the Middle Ages.⁸

7th century:

Incomplete Gospel list (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 256)⁹

9th–10th centuries:

Sacramentary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 2290)¹⁰

Sacramentary from Saint-Amand, accommodated to the use of Saint-Germain-des-Prés or Saint-Denis (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 2291)¹¹

Sacramentary of Nonantola, possibly written at Saint-Denis (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 2292)¹²

Evangelary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. n.a. lat. 305)¹³

Psalter of Charles the Bald (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1152)¹⁴

10th–11th centuries:

Psalter-hymnal (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 1186)¹⁵

11th century:

Missal-antiphonary (Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 118)¹⁶

Missal (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 9436)¹⁷

Gradual (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 384 [748])¹⁸

Psalter-hymnal (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 103)¹⁹

12th century:

Lectionary for the Mass (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. n.a. lat. 307)²⁰

Antiphonary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 17.296)²¹

Breviary (Winter part) possibly from a parish church of Saint-Denis (Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 17C)²²

13th century:

Missal (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 414 [735])²³

Missal (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 846)²⁴

Missal (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1107)²⁵

Missal (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 603)²⁶

Two evangeliaries, bound together (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. n.a. lat. 1420)²⁷

14th century:

Missal (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, MS. L. 1346–1891)²⁸

Missal (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 10.505)²⁹

Pontifical from Rouen, 12th century, accommodated to the usage of Saint-Denis (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. n.a. lat. 306)³⁰

15th century:

Book of Hours (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 1072)³¹

Miscellaneous:

Sacramentary fragments (9th, 10th, and 11th centuries; Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 275)³²

(We have not yet been able to identify lectionaries for the office or homiliaries of Saint-Denis.)³³

Eventually the study of these documents will establish important aspects of the internal development of the liturgical life of the abbey. They may also provide comparisons with other institutions of similar importance, such as Cluny. Work still to be done includes the listing of antiphons and responses, the establishment and development of the calendars and the feasts inscribed therein, and the identification and editing of the proper texts of proses, sequences,³⁴ tropes, songs, and prayers for various occasions.

The study of these service books will unveil only partial knowledge of the abbey's liturgical life, however. To understand the services fully one must consult those auxiliary documents used by people (masters of ceremonies of our day; archcantor, archpriest, and archdeacon in an earlier era) responsible for the staging and performance of the liturgy. These documents—the second category of sources for the study of Saint-Denis's liturgy—include ordines, customaries, directories, and ordinaries.³⁵ No monastic customary of Saint-Denis is known, and the search for one is not likely to be fruitful. For, as Giles Constable recently pointed out, Saint-Denis was never a center from which

monastic reform radiated, and his research indicates that reform constituted the primary motivation for recording the *consuetudo*.³⁶ We do, however, have ordinaries. Ordinaries provide faithful accounts of the state of worship in a given church at the moment of their composition and reflect the actual celebration more closely than such “authentically liturgical” texts as sacramentaries, graduals, and missals for the Eucharist, psalters, hymnals, collectories, and breviaries for the Divine Office.

Discussed by Bishop Anton Hänggi of Basel in his edition of the Rheinau Ordinary,³⁷ ordinaries appear in the twelfth century for use in cathedrals, collegiate, and monastic churches. They describe in detail how to celebrate the offices and Masses, how to order the processions, and which liturgical decorations and furnishings are appropriate throughout the year. The history of the genre has yet to be written, and we are fortunate that Bishop Hänggi gives a list of the ordinaries published earlier than his own work.³⁸ Jean Dufrasne, in an unpublished *mémoire* now available at the Institut Supérieur de Liturgie in Paris, has studied the collection of manuscripts of ordinaries in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, but has limited himself to those prepared for secular churches.³⁹

A copy of the most recent Saint-Denis ordinary, written during John (the Good) II's reign (1350–64), is preserved in Paris, in the Archives nationales, L 863, no. 10.⁴⁰ Used as a practical reference book, this now-lost manuscript was kept chained in the choir of the church. A second ordinary dates from the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. Previously in the possession of Colbert, it is now in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 976.⁴¹ Another, written in the thirteenth century, the oldest manuscript and the one of greatest interest to us, is in Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 526 (544).

Molinier believed the Mazarine ordinary was written sometime after 1234.⁴² Refining the date, the *Catalogue des manuscrits datés* suggested a date between 1234 and 1247,⁴³ based on the obituary of Philippe Hurepel, count of Boulogne, whose death in 1234 is recorded by the hand of the original scribe in both the calendar and text. This provides a *terminus ante quem*. The *terminus post quem* was determined by the addition to the calendar, in a second hand, of the obituary of Abbot Odo Clément of Saint-Denis, who died as bishop of Rouen in 1247.⁴⁴

Whether or not the earliest of the extant Saint-Denis ordinaries, written in the first half of the thirteenth century, can be taken as an expression of the liturgy used in the twelfth century is the critical issue here. In short, does Mazarine ms. 526 provide evidence of liturgical practices at Saint-Denis during the abbacies of at least some of its twelfth-century abbots, and in particular of Suger's abbacy (1122–51)?⁴⁵

It is my contention that, to a great extent and with the exception of certain obvious additions (the anniversary of the death of Philip Augustus in 1223, for example), this thirteenth-century

ordinary is a faithful expression of twelfth-century practice. There are many reasons for this, the first having to do with the general character of the liturgy and of monastic communities. Except in times of religious and social unrest, their character tends to be conservative and changes only slightly—*vestigia patrum sequentes*—manifesting an inbred respect for *quod traditum est*.

There is clear evidence that Mazarine ms. 526 reflects at least part of the twelfth-century liturgy of the abbey. The celebration of the anniversary of Dagobert (January 19), initiated by Abbot Adam (1099–1122) and described by him in a charter discovered by Barroux, does not differ significantly from the description of the same service in the Mazarine ordinary.⁴⁶ The extent to which Mazarine ms. 526 relies on earlier sources for other services can only be ascertained, however, after detailed comparisons with the earlier liturgical manuscripts, particularly with the antiphonaries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and with the eleventh-century missal (all listed above).

Another factor beside unrest or reform might warrant changes in the liturgical program of an establishment recorded in an ordinary: the construction of a new church, for example, or major structural alteration of an existing building would require at the very least new routes for processions and newly specified areas for the performance of services. Because Mazarine ms. 526 incorporates, in a specific way, Suger's new chevet, integrating it into the daily, weekly, and yearly liturgical cycles, the ordinary must have been based on a prototype devised for the changed fabric of the building. These new directions for services will be discussed more fully below.

There is very little evidence suggesting creative activities in liturgical matters by Suger's successors.⁴⁷ Given such a predecessor, a potential innovator would surely have wanted his name remembered alongside that of Suger. But there is no record of this having happened, and no evidence of it in the ordinaries. This leads toward the supposition that Mazarine ms. 526 reflects the established twelfth-century liturgy of the abbey, which had incorporated the changes required by Suger's new chevet.

Adding the information gleaned from other texts to the evidence provided by the oldest of the three surviving ordinaries, what can we determine about the ceremonial of Saint-Denis in the twelfth century and, more precisely, about the liturgy in use during the Sugerian era?

The first points are general in nature and come as no surprise. Examination of the documents confirms that the liturgy is monastic. The Rule of Saint Benedict was followed for the Divine Office, with feasts having twelve lessons and twelve responses, as opposed to the nine customary in the Roman rite.⁴⁸

Not only does the liturgy of Saint-Denis correspond to the one prescribed by Benedict's Rule, but it also reflects the development of additional prayers and offices erroneously attributed to

Cluny. Symons⁴⁹ and Hallinger⁵⁰ have shown that these prayers and offices stem from the Carolingian monastic reforms of Benedict of Aniane (about 750–821), and particularly from the Aachen reform councils of 816 and 817. Among the more important of these supplementary devotions are the Offices for the Dead, for All Saints, and Office of the Virgin;⁵¹ the recitation of the Gradual Psalms,⁵² the *psalmi prostati* in Lent,⁵³ and the *psalmi familiares*;⁵⁴ as well as the singing of the litany before Mass.⁵⁵ All of these devotional offices are well documented in the Mazarine ordinary.⁵⁶

While confirmation of these general points is important, the great value of the Mazarine ordinary lies in its description of elements specific to the abbey church of Saint-Denis. Foremost here is the light it throws on the relationship between the liturgy and Suger's new chevet. The ground plan of this chevet is well known, and Suger himself listed the dedications of the altars (see Caviness fig. 1 and Maines fig. 1).⁵⁷ The Mazarine ordinary demonstrates how the new architectural space was incorporated in the cultic ordinance of the abbey.

The general description of the *cursus* of the day (given here for the week after the Octave of Pentecost) shows daily common processions to the chevet at the end of matins and at the end of vespers.⁵⁸ Further, this important note is added: "If it happens that a feast of twelve lessons is celebrated, then there will be a procession to the chevet related to that feast if the altar is dedicated in honor of that saint."⁵⁹ We can observe how this direction functions for some of the saints to whom altars (or *oratoria*, as the Mazarine ordinary calls them) were dedicated. On the Feast of Saint Osmanna, September 9, there was a single commemoration at vespers followed by a procession *ad altare ipsius*.⁶⁰ For the Feast of Saint Peregrinus, May 16, early Mass was said, not at the ordinary *altare matutinalis* but at the main altar of the saint: *Magna missa celebratur ad oratorium sancti Peregrini*.⁶¹ For Saint Eugene, November 16, there was an understandable distinction made when the feast fell on a day when large crowds were expected. If the feast fell on a Sunday, terce was to be sung in the chapel and High Mass in the choir, once the usual Sunday procession and aspersion of the common rooms had been completed. If, however, the feast did not fall on a Sunday, the High Mass was also celebrated in the chapel.⁶²

These examples suffice to indicate the manner in which the liturgy was integrated into the new topography of the abbey church. The same can be demonstrated for the greatest feasts of the year, both temporal (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost) and sanctoral (such as the Feast of the Holy Martyrs, October 9).

Some processions, however, are less clearly understood. On Saint Stephen's Day (December 26) the community did not descend to that saint's altar in the crypt⁶³ but instead proceeded to the chapel of Saint Cucuphas in the chevet.⁶⁴ Although the Mazarine ordinary describes this, it does not explain why this pro-

cedure was followed. One must turn to another source, the *Consecrationes altarium Beati Dionysii*, to discover that the altar of Saint Cucuphas numbered among its patrons Saint Stephen Protomartyr.⁶⁵

Clearly the ordinaries are a rich and valuable resource for understanding the relationship between the architectural space and the physical acts necessary for the performance of the services. It is also possible that some of the less-understood elements of the iconographic programs of the stained glass may be better understood in the light of the cultic activities that took place in the chevet and the chapels.

There is another specific area in which the Mazarine ordinary expands our knowledge of the liturgical tradition at Saint-Denis. This concerns the abbey's extraordinary collection of *objets d'art*, some liturgical, others the royal regalia associated with the exercise of sovereignty. Unfortunately, the Mazarine ordinary does not tell us on which days the Chalice of Suger was used, or on which days the Cup of the Ptolemies, but it does describe the relics to be carried in procession: for example, the Arm of Saint Simon or the Nail of the Cross (the latter even has a specific feast day within the Easter Octave).⁶⁶ At the highest feasts, the cantors carried royal rods (*regiae virgae*), and the six or seven subdeacons carried *textus*, lectionaries, or Gospel books. Crystal candelabra were put on the altar, together with "the Cross of lord Charles the emperor." The Cross was placed behind the Altar of the Holy Trinity, and the "small, precious candelabrum" (*candelabrum parvum pretiosum*) was placed in the center of the altar. The offertory of the monks at Christmas was made with the "golden vessels," and the cantor on that occasion offered the water in a "precious ampulla." The responsory and the alleluia were sung from "beautiful ivory tablets" (*in speciosis tabulis eburneis*), the Epistle from Saint Paul was read *in parvo textu*, and so forth.⁶⁷

Until now, the earliest and most complete knowledge of the Saint-Denis treasury came from Suger's own description of his church and its furnishings. As Suger chose to mention only some of the objects held by the abbey, there are many missing links between his description and the later inventories, the earliest of which was written in 1505.⁶⁸ A careful examination of the Mazarine ordinary should help considerably in determining the state of the treasury in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the two later Saint-Denis ordinaries will be invaluable in helping us to pinpoint the dates at which other objects disappeared.

One further area of specific liturgical interest illuminated by the Mazarine ordinary concerns royal anniversaries. The role of Saint-Denis as a dynastic necropolis is well known, and the ordinary is lavish in its details about the celebration of these anniversaries.

The anniversary of Dagobert is described at great length, as well as other principal royal anniversaries. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg⁶⁹ discussed the celebration of these anniversaries

but used only the most recent of the three Saint-Denis ordinaries.⁷⁰ The text of the Mazarine ordinary is more explicit with regard to the anniversary of Dagobert⁷¹ but unhappily not with respect to the anniversary of Louis VI, which is of particular interest since the last three lessons were written by Suger himself.⁷² One of the extraordinary features of these two anniversaries is the reading of both kings' *vitae*, in which they are celebrated as heroes or canonized saints, a rare occurrence in liturgical history.⁷³

Before concluding, there are a number of other problems worth mentioning concerning the Saint-Denis liturgy. Foremost among these problems is that of the ordinance of the new choir Suger had furnished for the monks.⁷⁴ How was this choir affected in the thirteenth century by the reconstruction of the central vessel of the basilica? Crosby's measurements have shown that the dimensions of the Carolingian nave were respected in the twelfth century, but the thirteenth-century nave construction (beginning about 1231) would have changed the area of Suger's choir.⁷⁵ The Mazarine ordinary speaks about returning from processions through "ivory doors" (*portas eburneas*)⁷⁶ and through "red doors" (*portas rubeas*).⁷⁷ Because Suger mentions the ivory doors,⁷⁸ can we assume that their use at the time Mazarine 526 was written indicates the ordinary's faithful reflection of the state of the building before the thirteenth-century reconstruction of the nave? If this is so, we might be able to date the Mazarine ordinary more precisely.

Panofsky's comments on the consecration of the church bring other questions into focus. He refers once to the office of the Roman breviary, *Commune Dedicationis Ecclesiae*.⁷⁹ This, however, is an anniversary office, not an actual rite of consecration. Is it possible to find the specific pontifical that might have been in use by following Suger's description of the consecration in 1144? One might look to Rouen,⁸⁰ Beauvais, or Senlis (whose bishops were present for the consecration of the chevet)⁸¹ or to the places of origin of the many bishops present for the definitive consecration and translation.⁸²

The Greek Mass is another matter that needs further clarification. The study of Greek at the abbey was to some degree imposed because of the patron saint,⁸³ and scholars have thought that the singing at the Octave of Saint-Denis (October 16) derived from the origins of the abbey. Michel Huglo has studied the tradition of this Mass, however, using the three extant Saint-Denis ordinaries, and he has shown its origin to be in the twelfth century.⁸⁴ In addition, Atkinson has given an impressive catalogue of examples of Greek chants in Latin chant manuscripts, indicating that Greek insertions were in no way limited to Saint-Denis.⁸⁵ It should be determined in what manner, if any, the Saint-Denis Mass in Greek differs from the use of Greek in other Latin manuscripts, and whether there is any relationship to the Byzantine liturgical texts for Saint Dionysius.

Another promising avenue of exploration is the study of *An-*

tiphoniae ante evangelium. These seem to be characteristic of greater feasts in the larger French churches in the twelfth century. Although they have been studied in their northern Italian context, there has been little work on them by historians of French liturgy.⁸⁶

From this brief exposition it is clear that major investigations, using the sources now available, will increase our knowledge of the liturgy at Saint-Denis as well as yield valuable

insights into other areas of study. It is essential that the Saint-Denis ordinaries be edited and published in full. This will provide a base on which to build the complete picture of the liturgical tradition of Saint-Denis, an insight that will also prove important to art historians and musicologists, imparting additional information about the institution that was once, in the words of Leonardo Olschki, "the ideal center of France in the Middle Ages."⁸⁷

NOTES

1. I would like to express my gratitude to the Zahm Research Travel Fund of the University of Notre Dame, which financed studies at the Library of Congress, and to professor Ruth Steiner in the School of Music of The Catholic University of America, who graciously opened the valuable Mocquereau collection of microfilms of musical manuscripts. A special expression of my gratitude goes to the editor of this volume, Dr. Paula Gerson, for her very careful help in making the manuscript more readable and more homogeneous.
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 9502, fols. 66A–66I, mentioned in Aimé Georges Martimort, *La Documentation Liturgique de Dom Edmond Martène*, Studi e testi 279 (Vatican City, 1978), p. 543.
3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 2290, used by Jean Deshusses in his edition *Le Sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits. Tome 1., Spicilegium Friburgense 16* (Fribourg, 1971). See also Klaus Gamber, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores, ed. altera, Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia 1* (Fribourg, 1968) no. 760; Jean Leclercq, "Une Parenthèse dans l'histoire de la prière continue: la *Laus perennis* du Moyen Age," *La Maison-Dieu* 64 (1964): 98–101 (reprint; *La Liturgie et les paradoxes chrétiens*, Lex Orandi 36 (Paris, 1963), pp. 229–42; and Corbinian Gindele, "Die gallikanischen *Laus Perennis* Klöster und ihre *Ordo Officii*," *Revue Bénédictine* 59 (1959): 32–48.
4. Michel Huglo, "Les Chants de la Missa Graeca de Saint-Denis," in Jack Westrup, ed., *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz* (Oxford, 1966) pp. 74–83, with a very complete bibliography. For other aspects of the *Missa graeca* problem, see esp. notes 83 and 85 here.
5. Martimort, *Martène*, pp. 544–45, gives the list of the principal extracts published by Martène and the references to the different editions of this work.
6. Eugene Misser and William H. I. Weale, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus hactenus editis Supplementum amplissimum*, Analecta Liturgica 2: *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, 3 vols. (Lille-Bruges, 1888–92), vol. 1, pp. 357–68 and vol. 2, pp. 530–41.
7. Cyrille Vogel, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au Moyen Age*, Biblioteca degli 'Studi medievali,' 1 (Spoleto, 1966), pp. 45–46.
8. This provisional listing, drawn up by Rev. Edward Foley as the result of seminar work, does not include the three ordinaries of Saint-Denis to be discussed later. A more complete listing has now been drawn up by Ann E. Walters, "Music and Liturgy at the Abbey of Saint-Denis, 567–1567: A Survey of the Primary Sources" (Ph.D. diss., Yale, 1984), soon to be made available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
9. Theodor Klauser, *Das Römische Capitulare Evangeliorum, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen*, 28 (Münster, 1935), p. xxxiii.
10. Victor Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1924), vol. 2, pp. 19–22.
11. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 56–58.
12. Martimort, *Martène*, p. 92.
13. Klauser, *Capitulare Evangeliorum*, p. lxii.
14. Victor Leroquais, *Les Psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1940–41), vol. 2, pp. 67–70.
15. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 148–52; Adrien Nocent, "Contribution à l'étude du rituel du mariage," *Eulogia. Miscellanea liturgica in onore di P. Burkard Neunbeuser*, Studia Anselmiana 68 (Rome, 1979), p. 250 n. 20.
16. Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, vol. 2, pp. 64–68.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 142–44.
18. René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Le Graduel de Saint-Denis*, Monumenta Musicae Sacrae 5 (Paris, 1981), a facsimile edition.
19. Leroquais, *Psautiers*, vol. 2, pp. 30–32.
20. Klauser, *Capitulare Evangeliorum*, p. cxix.
21. René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1963–79), vol. 2, pp. xi–xv.
22. Victor Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1934), vol. 4, pp. 291–92.
23. Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, vol. 2, p. 73.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 140–42.
26. Adalbert Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum im Mittelalter: Iter Italicum* (1886; reprint, Graz, 1957), p. 155.

27. Klauser, *Capitulare Evangeliorum*, p. cviii.
28. Joyce Whalley, Assistant Keeper of the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, to author, May 1, 1981, "Description of the Missal of Saint-Denis Abbey, Paris (MS.L. 1346–1891)."
29. Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, vol. 2, p. 292.
30. Victor Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1937), vol. 2, pp. 220–29.
31. Victor Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1927), vol. 1, pp. 49–52.
32. Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, vol. 1, pp. 144–45.
33. However, Harvey Stahl, in his essay in this volume, pp. 163–81 note 40, has drawn attention to the Lectionary of Saint-Corneille, Compiègne (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 16820.) It "may well have been made at Saint-Denis for Compiègne about 1150, when Suger chose Odo of Deuil, soon to be his successor, to reestablish order at Saint-Corneille." See also Léopold Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Notre-Dame et d'autres fonds* (1871; reprint, Hildesheim, 1974), p. 11.
34. The sequences have been edited by Misset and Weale, *Thesauris*.
35. None of these categories—almost indistinguishable from each other—has yet been treated in the *Typologie des sources du Moyen Age Occidental* of Louvain.
36. The standard editions of the *Consuetudines* are Marquard Herrgott, *Vetus Disciplina Monastica* (Paris, 1726); Bruno Albers, *Consuetudines Monasticae*, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1900–12); and Kassius Hallinger, *Corpus Consuetudinarum Monasticarum*, 8 vols. to date (Siegburg, 1963 sqq.).
37. Anton Hänggi, *Der Rheinauer Liber Ordinarius*, Spicilegium Friburgense 1 (Fribourg, 1957).
38. *Ibid.*, pp. xxix–xxxvi; and *Nachtrag*, p. 323.
39. Jean Dufresne, "Les Ordinaires manuscrits des églises séculières conservées à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris," (*Mémoire*, Institut Supérieur de Liturgie of the Institut Catholique de Paris, (Paris, 1959), available as four microfiches, distributed by C.I.P.O.L., 4, Avenue Vavin, F-75006 Paris.
40. Paris, Archives nationales, L. 863, no. 10; see Martimort, *Martène*, p. 544.
41. Martimort, *Martène*, pp. 544–45.
42. Auguste Molinier, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1885), vol. 1, p. 211.
43. Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, eds., *Catalogues des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, Musée Condé et bibliothèques parisiennes, 6 vols. (Paris, 1959), vol. 1, p. 245.
44. There is some possibility that the calendar and the main text of the ordinary were not conceived as a single manuscript, though the hand appears the same. The calendar dates for the royal anniversaries often carry the annotation: *quaere in fine libri quomodo debet fieri*, but in the first ordinary these anniversaries are incorporated in the main text on the pertinent days. This needs further investigation.
45. The list of abbots is conveniently printed by Michel Félibien, *Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Denis en France* (1706; reprint, Paris, 1967), before p. 1. Besides Adam and Suger, they are, for the last part of the twelfth century: Odo II of Deuil (1151–63), Odo III of Taverny (1163–69), Yves II (1169–73), William II of Gap (1173–86), Hugh V of Foucault (1186–97), and Hugh VI of Milan (1197–1204).
46. Robert Barroux, "L'Anniversaire de la mort de Dagobert à Saint-Denis au XII^e siècle: Charte inédite de l'abbé Adam," *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et philosophiques* (1942–43): 133–51.
47. There is, however, an intriguing remark by Félibien, *Histoire*, p. 202, about Abbot William (1173–86) and his "nouveau règlement": nothing is known about this.
48. This is, of course, not a new finding and can also easily be read out of the antiphonary used by Hesbert, *Corpus*, vol. 2, but it is necessary to state it at this point.
49. Thomas Symons, "A Note on the *Trina Oratio*," *Downside Review* 42 (1924): 67–83 and his "Monastic Observances in the Tenth Century," *Downside Review* 51 (1937): 137–52. See also the invaluable commentaries by John B. Tolhurst, *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries*, vol. 6 of *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, 6 vols. (Henry Bradshaw Society, 80 London, 1942–43).
50. Kassius Hallinger, "Das Phänomen der liturgischen Steigerungen Klunys (10./11. Jh.)" in *Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica. Festgabe für Luchsius G. Spätling, O.F.M.*, Bibl. Pont. Antoniani 19 (Rome, 1977), pp. 183–236 and his similar "Überlieferung und Steigerung im Mönchtum des 8. bis 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Eulogia. Miscellanea Liturgica in onore di P. Burkard Neunheuser*, *Studia Anselmiana* 68 (Rome, 1979), pp. 125–87.
51. Fol. 78v.
52. Fols. 28v–29v.
53. Fols. 38v–39r.
54. Fol. 79r.
55. Fol. 79v.
56. Since these devotional offices vary only slightly, and were not sung but said, we cannot document their observance at Saint-Denis on the basis of the antiphonaries alone.
57. Panofsky, *Suger*, pp. 8–34, 249–250, and Suger, *Cons.* (P), p. 118. His second edition unhappily replaces the plan of the church with a less detailed one. See also Louis Levillain, "Les Plus Anciennes Églises abbatiales de Saint-Denis," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France* 36 (1909): 250. The *oratoria* were the following beginning from the left: Saint Innocent, Saint Osmanna, Saint Eustace, Saint Peregrinus, the Virgin (at the center), Saint Cucuphas, Saint Eugene, Saint Hilary, and saints John the Baptist and the Evangelist.
58. Fols. 78v and 80r.
59. Fol. 78v: "*si duodecim lectiones etiam contingerint, écrit processio in capito de festo contingente, si altare fuerit consecratum in honore sancti.*" I wish to thank Dr. Walters for the correct reading of this passage.
60. Fol. 167r: *Maria virgine*.
61. Fol. 127v.
62. Fol. 193v.
63. Panofsky, *Suger*, p. 249.
64. Fol. 17v.

65. Léopold Delisle, "Notice sur un livre à peinture exécuté en 1250 dans l'abbaye de Saint-Denis," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 38 (1877): 446–76, esp. p. 465.
66. Fol. 60r: *In inuentione sacri clauis*.
67. *Cuique suum*: We abstain from the tempting identifications and leave this to the art historians.
68. Blaise de Montesquiou-Fezensac and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor de Saint-Denis*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1973–77).
69. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi est mort. Étude sur les junéraires, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle*, Bibliothèque de la Société française d'archéologie 7 (Genève, 1975).
70. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi*, pp. 102–3.
71. Fol. 100r: *tres extreme [sic] lectiones de vita ipsius*.
72. These lessons are printed by Migne, *PL*, vol. 186, cols. 1341–46; they are excerpts from Suger's own *Vita Ludovici grossi* (lesson 7: cols. 1255 and 1336 esp.; lesson 8: cols. 1336–38; and lesson 9: cols. 1338–40). The monastic Office of the Dead is structured like the Roman one with only nine, and not twelve, lessons and responsories, with only a few isolated exceptions (information kindly supplied by Dr. Knud Ottosen, University of Aarhus, Denmark).
73. See the apologetic statement to this exceptional practice by Edmond Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, Editio secunda, 4 vols. (1736; reprint, Hildesheim, 1967), vol. 2, col. 1053.
74. Suger, *Adm.* (P), pp. 72–73.
75. Félibien, *Histoire*, p. 529; see also Sumner McK. Crosby, *The Abbey of Saint-Denis* (New Haven, 1942), vol. 1, pp. 117ff., 162. The work of Crosby on the later stages of the church is to be carried to its completion by Prof. Caroline Bruzelius at Duke University.
76. Fol. 48r.
77. Fol. 17v.
78. Suger, *Cons.* (P), p. 116; and Panofsky's comments on pp. 248–49. Suger does not mention the red doors and we are badly informed about the location of both doors.
79. Suger, *Cons.* (P), p. 102 n. 43.
80. Rev. Foley has drawn our attention to the twelfth-century pontifical of Rouen, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. n.a. lat. 306 (see note 30 here), in which all references to the Church of Rouen have been deleted and to which has been added, at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, an additional quire of twenty-four folios (fols. 215r–238v) containing a collectary of orations to be said during the processions at Saint-Denis. Would this pontifical have been left as a gift by the Archbishop of Rouen? Or have been a legacy of Odo IV (who left Saint-Denis in 1229 to occupy the see of Rouen?)
81. Suger, *Cons.* (P), p. 96.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 112–15. Panofsky's unfamiliarity with liturgical texts is also apparent in his discussion of Suger's text on the laying of the first stone, pp. 100–103. On this rite and Suger, see Karl-Josef Benz, "Ecclesiae pura simplicitas. Zu Geschichte und Deutung des Ritus der Grundsteinlegung im Hohen Mittelalter," *Archiv für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 32 (1980): 9–25. Benz gives an excellent background for the texts of Suger dealing with the presence of royalty at the dedication ceremonies in his *Untersuchungen zur politischen Bedeutung der Kirchweihe unter Teilnahme der deutschen Herrscher im hohen Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zum Studium des Verhältnisses zwischen weltlicher Macht und kirchlicher Wirklichkeit unter Otto III. und Heinrich II.*, Regensburger historische Forschungen 4 (Kallmünz, 1975).
83. See Roberto Weiss, "Lo Studio del greco all'Abbazia di San Dionigi durante il Medio Evo," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 6 (1952): 426–38; reprinted in *Medieval and Humanist Greek. Collected Essays*, Medioevo e umanesimo 8 (Padova, 1977), pp. 44–59. For a comparison with an equally important abbey, see Bernice M. Kaczynski, "Greek Learning in the Medieval West: A Study of S. Gall, 816–1022" (Ph.D. diss., Yale, 1975), available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan: 7–14, 590.
84. See note 4 here.
85. Charles Atkinson, "Mater Graecia Revisited: Another Look at the Origins and Dissemination of the *Missa Graeca*." Paper delivered at the Fifteenth International Congress on Medieval Studies, The Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 1980, and expanded in 1982; and his "On the Origins and Transmission of the *Missa Graeca*," *Nordisk Kollokvium V for Latinsk Liturgiforskning* (Aarhus, 1982), pp. 95–140; "O AMNOS TOU THEU: The Greek Agnus Dei in the Roman Liturgy from the Eighth to the Eleventh Century," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 65 (1981): 7–30, and "Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung der 'Missa graeca'," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 39 (1982): 113–145.
86. Pietro Borello, *Il rito ambrosiano* (Brescia, 1964), pp. 156–57; Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "The *Antiphonae ante evangelium* in North-Italian Sources." Communications at the American Musicological Society (New York, 1979) and at the Seventeenth International Congress on Medieval Studies, The Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 1982. The second ordinary of Saint-Denis, fol. 150v, gives the complete listing of these antiphons.
87. Leonardo Olschki, *Der ideale Mittelpunkt Frankreichs im Mittelalter in Wirklichkeit und Dichtung* (Heidelberg, 1913), as quoted in Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 37 (Geneva, 1960), p. 30. We are happy to report that the edition and partial commentary of the first ordinary has now been undertaken as a dissertation project by Rev. Edward Foley, O.F.M. Cap., at the University of Notre Dame. Since the completion of our investigation a thorough monograph on the sandyonisian liturgy has been completed: Walters, "Music and Liturgy." The works by Foley and Walters will henceforth be the obligatory points of departure for the study of the topic and both works contain modifications and corrections to this preliminary study.

II.
POLITICAL
AND SOCIAL HISTORY

Suger's Views on Kingship*

Andrew W. Lewis

NO HISTORIAN of the Capetian monarchy seems ever to have published a full and independent analysis of Suger's views on kingship.¹ Instead much recent historical scholarship has tended to accept without reexamination the hypotheses on this subject—first advanced in studies on early Gothic architecture—that, in the light of previously neglected evidence, appear more controversial in regard to Suger than was long assumed.² The essential problem is one of sources. Earlier discussions of Suger's notion of kingship have relied primarily on passages in his *De consecratione ecclesie Sancti Dionysii*, most of them, arguably, either ambiguous or of merely inferential pertinence.³ The present essay, by contrast, is based on Suger's *Life of Louis VI*, supplemented by certain of his letters, all of them texts directly concerned with the king's functions and the rationale for them. This reversal of sources produces significant changes in perspective. *De consecratione* has been thought to present an image of sacral or even sacerdotal monarchy. Study of the *Life*, however, reveals a very different set of ideas concerning kingship, one that, given the nature of the sources, should at the least receive priority of stress in our reconstruction of Suger's views.⁴

In outline the image of kingship that emerges from the *Life of Louis VI* is traditional. Three aspects of it may be identified: (1) the king as administrator of the kingdom; (2) the king as a figure with special religious associations or attributes; and (3) the king as protector of the churches and of the "poor."⁵ These are, of course, not formal categories in Suger's thought. They are inter-related or overlapping themes that here have been isolated for ease of discussion. The conventional nature of the framework is fundamental, since it places Suger in relation to a tradition of royalist ideology; yet, because it is familiar, detailed examination of it is unnecessary. What requires particular notice is that

Suger's remarks about each of these aspects of royalty are in some ways distinctive.

As administrator of the kingdom, the king was charged first of all with the defense of the realm against enemies, both foreign and domestic.⁶ That is immediately clear. More complex, and therefore intriguing, is Suger's thought regarding the internal, feudal structures that in his mind defined the monarch's jurisdictional relationship to other lords in the kingdom. This topic has received much scholarly attention in recent years because of the pioneering work of the late Jean-François Lemarignier, who recognized in the *Life of Louis VI* a theory—for which Suger is the first identifiable spokesman—of royal suzerainty at the summit of a pyramid of feudal ties. Such a theory had been absent in eleventh-century France; it is found very clearly in the reign of Philip Augustus. Models for this concept have been seen in the Gregorian church, perhaps especially in monasticism, and also in the influence on Suger of the hierarchical concepts that marked the writings of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.⁷ Since most previous appraisals have treated Suger's ideas against the background of the earlier period, and since scholars have stressed the innovative character of his theory, the inevitable result has been a tendency to exaggerate his intellectual boldness and originality. Accordingly, certain cautionary observations seem appropriate.

Suger really says little about the suzerainty. He portrays Louis VI as very conscious that, for Normandy, Henry I of England was his feudatory.⁸ He has Louis, as king-designate, restoring to the church of Orléans one castle and the lordship over another castle that Leo of Meung, vassal of the bishop of Orléans for the first castle, had tried to seize for himself.⁹ Finally, on the occasion of Louis VI's second campaign to protect the bishop and church of

Clermont-Ferrand against oppression by the count of Auvergne, he has the duke of Aquitaine intervene in his capacity as intermediate lord to protest the king's action. "Lord king . . ." said the duke, "let the exalted Royal Majesty not be unwilling to receive the service of the duke of Aquitaine, and to preserve to the latter his right, since, while justice requires that service, it also requires that the lordship be just. Since the count of Auvergne holds Auvergne from me, and I hold it from you, if he has committed any wrong it is for me upon your command to bring him to your court." Because the duke had never been asked to do this, even though he was ready to comply, his rights in the matter had been violated; but he now offered hostages to guarantee his delivery of the count, if the king agreed. After conferring with his barons, Louis heeded the "dictates of justice" and withdrew his army, pending settlement of the dispute between the count and the bishop at the royal court in the presence of the duke of Aquitaine.¹⁰

How much may be read into these passages? It appears that Suger regarded the king as the highest feudal lord in France—although, given the existence of allods, presumably not feudal lord of all of France—and that for him the king had some jurisdictional claims over his subvassals, at least when the latter attacked churches. The increasing importance of the real, that is the land-based, over the personal element attached to the homages of the time is supportive of the thesis that Suger's remarks reflect a well-developed notion of a feudal pyramid; for the inheritance of ties and obligations in fiefs could prompt the formation of chains of authority in a manner that the older bonds between pairs of individuals—and generally not extending to subvassals—could not.¹¹ Also consistent with that pattern of thought are the various other hierarchies, theoretical or actual, with which Suger would have been familiar: the theology of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, the lines of jurisdiction within the church both at large and within particular ecclesiastical provinces, the politico-feudal structures within the Anglo-Norman domains, and even the chains of jurisdiction linking the abbey of Saint-Denis to its possessions.¹² Suger's apparent agreement, recorded elsewhere, with Louis VI's unwillingness to perform homage to the abbey of Saint-Denis for the county of the Vexin may not fit wholly into the same framework of jurisdictions and ties, but it is certainly indicative of a pyramidal conception regarding homages.¹³

One is struck by two other elements in Suger's remarks. The first pertains to what may be called a national kingship. It is seen only dimly in the *Life*. Louis VI stands at the peak of French political structures not only as feudal lord to his vassals but as king, that is, as monarch and lord of the whole. This is reflected in Suger's account of French preparations for resistance to the threatened attack by Henry V of Germany: the magnates assemble under their king because of the threat to French land and the

affront to France and to the French—that is to say, the great nobles from regions not directly affected by the crisis owe service to the king in the defense of any part of the kingdom against outsiders.¹⁴ Similar ideas are reflected in some of Suger's remarks about internal defense, that is, the maintenance of order.¹⁵ Suger's letters supply complementary evidence. His language concerning fealty is instructive: *fidelitas* is owed "to the king and the kingdom" by the bishop of Chartres and "to the kingdom and the crown" or "to the king and the crown" by the archbishops, bishops, and the greater lay vassals generally.¹⁶ The joining, or even conflation, of the obligations to Louis as king and to Louis as feudal lord is significant. The royal element is notable; yet the feudal one must not be underestimated. Suger's writings reflect notions of several, sometimes inconsistent hierarchies—in particular, in this connection, an ecclesiastical one in which an archbishop will sometimes mediate between the crown and his suffragan bishops¹⁷—but it is to the kingdom or the crown and to the lord from whom the properties move that each bishop owes immediate loyalty.

The second element to be noted is the limitations that, according to Suger's account of Louis VI's second expedition to Auvergne, "justice" placed on the king's authority to intervene at the level of his subvassals. In view of the power relationships in early-twelfth-century France, acknowledgment of these limits is understandable. As one searches for the source or sources for Suger's conceptual model, however, these restrictions are more difficult to explain. There is no parallel to them in the theology of pseudo-Dionysius; nor is there a likely one in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the day, since the pope had wide powers—acknowledged, and even invoked, by Suger—to intervene directly at the lower levels of the clerical and monastic orders.¹⁸ That these models, and others, made Suger predisposed to conceptualize in terms of hierarchies can hardly be doubted, but the immediate source—if there is one—for his own ideas remains obscure.

The image of the king as a figure with special religious associations appears only fragmentally in the *Life of Louis VI*, although the few pertinent comments there are expressed in very strong terms. Thus, Suger speaks of Louis VI at his coronation as "casting away the sword of the worldly militia" and being girded "with the ecclesiastical [sword] for the punishment of evil-doers."¹⁹ In another passage, Suger depicts clerics urging Louis—as the "vicar" of God, "whose image, to make it animate, the king bears"²⁰—to take up arms against their oppressor, Hugh of Le Puiset. Finally, Louis appears as the vassal of Saint-Denis and the latter's companion saints, specifically for the Vexin, although in this case the personal aspect of the relationship seems more important than the real.²¹

These examples, however, are isolated and do not reflect the tenor of the work as a whole. Some fifty years ago, Marc Bloch noted the absence in almost all twelfth-century writers, includ-



Fig. 1. *Saint-Denis, axial ambulatory chapel, Tree of Jesse window, detail of a king*



Fig. 2. *Saint-Denis stained-glass panel (Paris, Musée de Cluny), scene from the life of Saint Benedict*



Fig. 3. *Saint-Denis, ambulatory chapels, window of the Visions of Ezekiel, panel depicting the Signum Tau*

Links with Mosan works are further borne out by the style: other similarly dense and crowded compositions that have been traced to the Meuse region, especially from the time of the Liège font (fig. 4), show the same cohesiveness in the grouping of figures and the same compositional balance. This characteristic is unlike the slightly artificial symmetries evident, for example, in the Brazen Serpent panel.

The validity of a comparison between these stained-glass panels and Mosan works is now accepted, but the comparison does not obtain in the case of the Stavelot Triptych at the Pierpont Morgan Library or in that of the great twelfth-century Mosan enamels; the comparison I have in mind is essentially one with manuscripts. I am referring here to the psalter of the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (78 A 6), which comes in all probability from Liège (figs. 5 and 6), rather than to the Floreffe Bible and related manuscripts. Hanns Swarzenski recently dated this fragment as belonging to the years 1150–55. Elisabeth Klemm, another Mosan-miniature specialist, has, however, proved (in my opin-



Fig. 4. Renier of Huy, Liège Baptismal Font, 1107–18, scene of Saint John preaching



Fig. 5. Psalter (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, HS. 78 A 6, fol. 1r), scenes from the story of Abraham

ion with good arguments) that the work in question was executed between 1135 and 1140 or, perhaps, 1145. She published this information a few years ago in her dissertation, which she defended in Vienna. According to her dating, the Psalter would be contemporary with the Saint-Denis *Signum Tau* panel. In both works, however, certain features, general and specific, are strikingly similar. Let us look, for example, in the stained-glass window (fig. 3) and in the miniature (fig. 5), at the wide metalworklike bands that decorate the bottoms, the middles, and the collars of the garments: they are exceptionally wide and rich, and characteristic of the renderings of the Meuse region. Let us also note in the manuscript a detail that might appear to be of secondary importance but is quite typical (as is often the case with small details). I am talking about the figures' shoes, which could be called Mosan shoes (see fig. 5). They are a kind of short boot just covering the ankles and flaring out above them in geometrical shapes. At this period in history, such a shoe was found in no other area of the West—and yet it found its way to the



Fig. 6. Psalter (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, HS. 78 A 6, fol. 10r), Baptism of Christ

Saint-Denis panel (fig. 3).

In order to better formulate this Mosan hypothesis, let us compare the scene of Abraham and his tribe in the Berlin manuscript (fig. 5) with the wonderful composition of the Liège baptismal font (fig. 4), which is dated prior to 1120. The same character of nobility (one could almost call it classicizing) is evident in the "effect" and in the composition as well as in the suppleness of the draperies, without the schematization noticed earlier in the Saint Benedict panel (fig. 2). We find here the spirit and the fullness characteristic of Mosan art. I think that the Liège baptismal font and the miniatures of the Berlin Psalter, along with the Saint-Denis panel, constitute a separate stylistic group to which, perhaps, other works could be added; but this group should be kept apart from such better-known works as the Floreffe and Averbode Bibles, which belong to a different development in the Mosan area.

The second atelier I believe it necessary to isolate is the one that executed the Saint Benedict window, an outstanding work that has so far remained almost unknown, as it was not until 1956 that this Cluny panel was proven to have originated at Saint-Denis. But parts of the window had been summarily sketched (with, however, enough details for identification) by Charles Percier during the Revolution. In the middle of the nineteenth century Juste Lisch, another architect and draftsman, made a tracing of the panel and wrote "Saint-Denis" in the margin. Lisch worked in Gérénte's atelier, which was responsible for the restoration of Saint-Denis's stained glass. We can, therefore, be assured that the panel now at the Musée de Cluny, and all those grouped around it, came from Suger's abbey church. Their obviously awkward style is in total contrast with the Mosan style. The panel of the two monks witnessing the death of Saint Benedict, from the Musée de Cluny (fig. 2), can be compared with two panels from the same Life of Saint Benedict window, which are today in a bay of the church in Fougères, Brittany (they were given as a private donation in the nineteenth century). One of the latter two depicts the young saint taking holy orders, and the other shows the miracle of Easter (a priest taking food to Benedict in the mountains). The identifications are clearly indicated by the inscriptions accompanying the scenes. It is important to note that all the ornamental details of these panels can be found in Percier's drawing.

Finally, another figure traced by Lisch, but now lost, confirms that both the Cluny and the Fougères panels are part of one stylistic ensemble, characterized by the disparity in proportion among the figures and the poor adaptation of the axis of the composition to the form of the medallions. We can, therefore, conclude that, in spite of the extreme preciousity and beauty of the glass, the skillful craftsmanship, and the careful rendering of detail, we are faced with the work of a minor artist, one quite unrelated to the Mosan style, so firmly established at Saint-Denis.

We must, therefore, look elsewhere for stylistic sources of the Saint Benedict window.

The north of France, including the area of Saint-Bertin, has proved to be a disappointment in the further search for sources. Burgundy may prove more probable, since it is a question of an essentially Romanesque style. It is utterly impossible to associate the panel's figures with the "origins of Gothic art." They are in no way innovative figures, neither in their gestures, their facial expressions, nor the manner in which they occupy space. It is, therefore, to Romanesque art we must turn, and perhaps Romanesque Parisian art. While studying manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Harvey Stahl recently found an illuminated antiphonary executed at Saint-Denis, probably between 1125 and 1145. This manuscript, which only includes one miniature (Stahl fig. 7), is neither beautiful nor significant—but seems to have been made for Suger. In fact, the folds of the garments, with their "Romanesque" awkwardness, the attitudes of the figures, and the simplified drawing of the facial features, bear some stylistic similarity to the Saint Benedict window. Perhaps, then, there is more to discover, in Paris or Burgundy, that will establish the sources for this Romanesque-Dionysian style.

Let us now turn our attention to two scenes that together represent Herod and the Three Magi. They too have been recently found, one at Saint-Denis itself (in the large window over the western portal of the church) and the other on the Parisian art market, from which it was repurchased by the service of the Monuments historiques. These panels, which were originally placed side by side, are part of the Infancy of Christ window and are stylistically related to what I call the "principal atelier" at Saint-Denis. The panel depicting the Three Magi is most clumsily rendered: the artist seems to have been hampered by the short proportions of the rectangular panel. However, on the second panel, which depicts Herod and his counselors (fig. 7), Herod's welcoming gesture is full of ease and there is a decided suggestion of physical volume. Behind him his two counselors form a rather tightly composed group, but the whole does not fit comfortably into the semicircular shape of the compartment. The marvelous ease of the grouping of the scenes inside the medallion (already discovered by some glass painters working at Saint-Denis), and which is so characteristic of Gothic art, is lacking. I believe, therefore, that even within the third and "principal atelier" there are differences in execution due to the presence of a number of hands—doubtless five or six—which can be distinguished only by very close observation.

One might ask what relationship can exist between the awkwardly composed and executed Three Magi panels and two other panels at Saint-Denis, the Brazen Serpent medallion from the Life of Moses window and the Quadriga of Aminadab (fig. 8) from the allegorical Saint Paul window. The latter is a commentary on a passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews concerning



Fig. 7. *Saint-Denis, stained-glass panel (Paris, Dépôt of Champs-sur-Marne), Herod receiving the Three Magi, from the Infancy window*



Fig. 8. *Saint-Denis, ambulatory chapel, Anagogical window, panel depicting the Quadriga of Aminadab*

Christ's entering the Temple, behind the curtains of the Tabernacle: the crucified Christ rests in the Ark of the Covenant; God the Father supports the Cross before a veil that is the veil of the Temple; the whole Church, represented by the four Evangelists, surrounds this symbolic vision, at once Jewish and Christian, since the Ark of the Covenant symbolizes the Altar of Christ. This very complex scene is expressed by an unusually felicitous

composition: the figures are harmoniously proportioned and fit perfectly into the frame. Compared to the mediocre compositions of the Infancy of Christ window, it is a work of genius.

Here again, as for the preceding panels, we are faced with the same workshop, where master glass painters probably worked side by side. It is indicative of the complexity of the Dionysian atelier as well as the speed with which Suger wanted to have this



9a



9b



10a



10b

Fig. 9. *Saint-Denis, west facade, detail of colonnette from the door jambs of the lateral portals (Paris, Musée de Cluny) compared to detail of stained-glass borders (Bryn Athyn, Glencairn Museum)*

a. Colonnette; b. Stained-glass border

Fig. 10. *Saint-Denis, west facade, detail of colonnette from the door jambs of the lateral portals (Paris, Musée de Cluny) compared to detail of stained-glass borders (Bryn Athyn, Glencairn Museum)*

a. Colonnette; b. Stained-glass border



Fig. 11. *Saint-Denis, ambulatory chapel windows, lost scene from the First Crusade series drawn for Montfaucon*
(Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 15634/1, fol. 162r)

work completed. The nine bays of the ambulatory, and perhaps the upper windows of the chevet and probably those of the crypt—that is to say, an ensemble of fifty windows—must have been executed in four or five years. It must, therefore, have been necessary to have many artists in the workshop at the same time. Some were mediocre, others very gifted, and within the same window (such as the window of the Life of Moses) poorly conceived, composed, and executed panels (the Mount Sinai, for instance) are often found next to panels of high quality. This disparity cannot be attributed to restoration, since even some original sections are of inferior quality while others are quite beautiful.

The style of the stained-glass windows at Saint-Denis warrants a further remark: their ornamentation—which I shall not describe in detail—bears a great similarity to the sculpture found on the west portals of the abbey church. The colonnettes now in the Musée de Cluny and the Musée du Louvre (figs. 9a and 10a) must have served as models for the windows' borders (figs. 9b and 10b), for the colonnettes' oblique strips of rinceaux and floral motifs provide precise prototypes. It is, then, probable that Dionysian glass painters drew their inspiration from sculptors of ornament who came from elsewhere and had been at work



Fig. 12. *Psalter* (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, HS. 78 A 6, fol. 1v),
scene of Abraham's battle against enemy kings



Fig. 13. *Saint-Denis, ambulatory chapel, Life of Moses window, detail from the Brazen Serpent panel*

at the chantier for several years, which had doubtless provided the models. Thus, a Dionysian style of ornament would be born of the collaboration between painters and sculptors, and the new type of glass border thereby created—the influence of which was felt as late as the thirteenth century—undoubtedly represents the most significant contribution of the Saint-Denis workshops to the later development of stained glass.

It must also be noted that relationships exist between the disposition of the scenes depicted in certain Saint-Denis windows and the compositions, in the form of superimposed medallions, found in the facade sculpture of the abbey church. These windows are the first known examples of such compositions in the field of stained glass; if earlier examples exist, we lack documented evidence. On the contrary, the superimposed carved medallions of the Labors of the Months (see Blum fig. 3), located on the south portal of the west facade, follow a widespread Romanesque sculptural formula. We should also keep in mind the resemblance, first noted by Panofsky, between the “flayed” Atlantes (Blum fig. 5a), flanking the plinths of the portals, and the stained-glass panel (the only known panel from the Saint Vincent cycle) depicting poor Saint Vincent on his rack above the flames (see Caviness fig. 11). The similarities are most striking

in the rendering of the movement of the legs and in the form of the head of the martyr. But are the Atlantes authentic? Or have they undergone extensive restoration? In short, can they be considered as valid vehicles of comparison? In spite of such questions, I find the resemblances too compelling to be discarded.

I shall not dwell on the problematic relationship between the Stavelot Triptych medallion (see Caviness fig. 6), which depicts the Battle against Maxentius, and the battles of the First Crusade drawn for Montfaucon and based on windows at Saint-Denis (fig. 11) that have since been lost. All conform to a representational formula suitable to all battles and other armed engagements between knights. One detail, however, indicates the true complexity of the relationship: the grassy hillocks in the shape of crescents or horns at the bottom of the Montfaucon panel drawings (see Caviness fig. 5) also appear in enamels and to a lesser degree in the Stavelot Triptych, where bands of terrain become a simple undulating line. The same motif recurs in such Mosan manuscripts as the Berlin Psalter (fig. 12) and is a convention similar to the “bridge” that cuts across the lower part of several medallions in the same series. This comparison of “horns” also confirms more general resemblances between the two compositions. I use the word “horns” as Montfaucon employed it in de-

scribing these lost panels, although this usage may seem somewhat naïve today: "Under the horses' hooves there are horns; I do not know what they mean; I do not know why the artist represented them in such a manner nor why they are so numerous."² It should be stressed, without entering into too many details, that this formula of representation appears frequently in paintings, miniatures, and metalwork but rarely in stained glass.

The First Crusade windows are almost secular in character, depicting historical events that had taken place only fifty years before. Suger probably commissioned them in 1146 or 1147 to plead the cause of the Second Crusade, to create as it were a "poster" in its favor. They were located in the first radial chapel windows of the ambulatory, and thus not on the main axis of the church. I believe that the Crusade window as well as its neighbor, the Pilgrimage of Charlemagne window, were executed because of the pope's visit to Saint-Denis in 1147 and the departure of King Louis VII the same year. I cannot discuss in detail here the historical and iconographic problems of these windows, but these issues are important and must be studied separately and seriously, not merely as part of a corpus.

To conclude I should like to examine a beautiful detail from the panel of the Life of Moses cycle depicting the Brazen Serpent

(fig. 13). It is closely related to miniatures and to the finest goldsmiths' work, an aspect little emphasized until now. The image shows Christ on the Cross above the serpent, a very singular idea of which there are few examples in twelfth-century iconography. If we examine the rinceaux on the green background of the Cross, to which the arms of Christ are pinned, or, better, the gold serpent, a masterpiece of goldsmith work, we clearly perceive the relationship between these windows and objects wrought of precious metals—gold and enamels—arts that Suger had always encouraged and that he preferred, perhaps, to all the others. The abbot of Saint-Denis greatly admired, to be sure, stained-glass windows, numbering them among some of the most precious works he commissioned, but his description of metalwork reveals a much deeper involvement. The Brazen Serpent panel, which belongs to the "principal atelier" at Saint-Denis, exemplifies the sophistication of Suger's taste as well as the beauty of the creations of this workshop, with its inexhaustible supply of problems, be they historical, stylistic, iconographic, or aesthetic.

This colloquium has allowed us to explore many of the Dionysian problems and come closer to their solutions. But it represents only one more step toward a complete knowledge of Saint-Denis, its works of art, and its "patron."

NOTES

*The text for this essay was transcribed by Carol Lazio and Bella Meyer from a tape made during the Suger and Saint-Denis symposium in April 1981. The French transcription was sent to Professor Grodecki, who made some corrections to the text before his death. This translation, completed after his death by Françoise Vachon, was established with the help of Madame Grodecki.

1. Most of the relevant bibliographical material for this paper can be found in the essay here by Madeline Caviness. I would like to add that the actual and historical study of the stained-glass windows at Saint-Denis and additional bibliographic information are to be found in the following works: Louis Grodecki, *Les Vi-*

traux de Saint-Denis, étude sur le vitrail au XII^e siècle (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi) France "Études" (Paris, 1976) vol. 1. The stylistic problems must be studied in vol. 2 of the same work, soon to be published; a final outline pertaining to this question can be found in Louis Grodecki, *Le Vitrail roman* (Fribourg, 1977), pp. 96–103. For Carolingian sources at Saint-Denis, see Konrad Hoffmann, "Sugers 'Anagogisches Fenster' in Saint-Denis," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 1968, pp. 57–88. For the Berlin Psalter, see Elisabeth Klemm, *Ein romanischer Miniaturenzyklus aus dem Maasgebiet* (Vienna, 1973); and Hanns Swarzenski, *Mosaner Psalter-Fragment* (Graz, 1974).

2. Bernard de Montfaucon, *Les Monumens de la Monarchie française*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1729–39), vol. 1, p. 395.



Saint-Denis Treasury, etching from Michel Félibien, Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France, pl. III

Suger's Liturgical Vessels*

Danielle Gaborit-Chopin

IT IS A well-known fact that Suger took a keen interest in goldsmith's work, precious stones, pearls, in short in any valuable object destined to enhance liturgical pomp. This interest is clearly revealed in Suger's writings,¹ as if the abbot of Saint-Denis was attempting to justify himself in light of the criticisms of Saint Bernard, who denounced Saint-Denis as "a workshop of Vulcan."² The reasons for Suger's interest, which was directed toward objects already belonging to the treasury as well as those he acquired himself, are numerous.

First, the ideas that nothing was too beautiful to be consecrated to God and that no vessel was too precious to receive the blood of Christ, although widely held in the twelfth century, were defended with great conviction by Suger, possibly because they were in opposition to Cistercian doctrine.³ On a second level, and as Panofsky has so aptly pointed out, Suger was also motivated by a sort of aesthetic emotion or experience which he—almost alone in his generation—tried to describe. The rapture felt by the abbot when he gazed on a vessel or precious stones sparkling in the light resembles above all—whatever the influence of the theories of the pseudo-Areopagite—the pleasure felt by an art lover before a masterpiece.⁴ But above all else Suger passionately wanted his church to be the richest and the most beautiful not only of the kingdom, but of the Western world, with treasures rivaling those of the Hagia Sophia, in Constantinople, of whose glories he had often heard.⁵ A further motivation, and a more subtle one, was his desire to surpass the reputation of the emperor Charles the Bald in the memories of Saint-Denis' monks. Through his writings, we see that Suger took great care to pay homage to this Carolingian prince, who had been a lay abbot and patron of Saint-Denis and whom he seems to have con-

sidered a model.⁶ He described with care some of the emperor's gifts to the abbey, like the gold altar, the portable altar, the cross of gold, and the *crista*, which we mistakenly call today the *écran de Charlemagne*.⁷ It is probable that the Cup of the Ptolemies (fig. 1) and the serpentine paten, both beautiful liturgical vases made of semiprecious stones set in metalwork mountings and given to Saint-Denis by Charles the Bald, had influenced Suger's taste. The serpentine paten (Paris, Musée du Louvre) is inlaid with gold fish and encircled by a cloisonné metalwork border similar to the mounting of the magnificent agate cameo cantharus called the Cup of the Ptolemies (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles).⁸ The setting of the Cup of the Ptolemies disappeared in the nineteenth century, but it is well known through the engravings of Michel Félibien (see pages 282 and 294) and Tristan de Saint-Amant as well as by an eighteenth-century description.⁹ Its base, in the shape of a truncated cone, and its knob, partially covered with cloisonné goldsmith work, are indeed Carolingian, but Suger may have been responsible for adding the metalwork circle that widens the base of the vase; the metallic bands that join the base to the knob and the *versiculi* engraved on the base remind us that this object was a gift of "Charles the Third," the name by which Charles the Bald was traditionally referred to at Saint-Denis and by Suger himself.¹⁰

It is in his *Liber de rebus in administratione sua gestis* that Suger best explains how he strove to enrich the treasury of his abbey. This documentation, quite exceptional in the twelfth century, sheds some light on certain aspects of the man and the objects he treasured but, paradoxically, brings up certain problems in the study of the objects themselves: of particular concern in the study of Suger's vase is the identification of the goldsmiths work-



Fig. 1. *Cup of the Ptolemies* (Félibien, *Histoire*, plate VI)

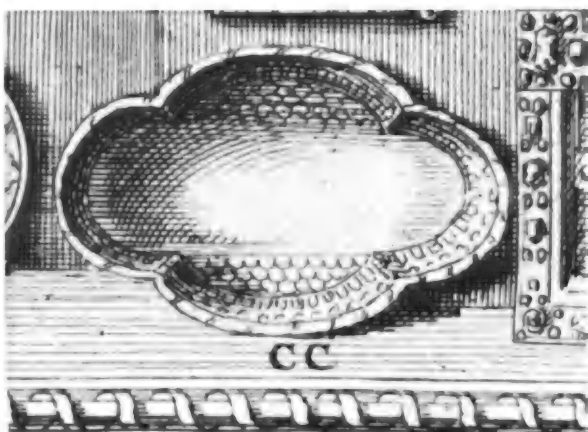


Fig. 2. *Incense boat* (Félibien, *Histoire*, plate IV)

ing at Saint-Denis. The abbot mentions four groups working for him on various projects, and distinguishes each of them by nationality:

1. The goldsmiths *de diversis partibus*, who worked on the Great Cross of gold. (We must stress, however, that Suger's notes do not necessarily rule out French artists.)¹¹
2. The *Lotharingi*, who executed the enameled copper foot of the Great Cross, and are distinct from (1). Traditionally, the *Lotharingi* have been considered Mosan goldsmiths.¹²
3. The *Barbari*, who worked on the *ulteriorem tabulam*, that is to say the back panel Suger added to the gold altar frontal of Charles the Bald. According to Suger himself, their work was more lavish than that of native craftsmen.¹³ Although other interpretations are possible, they are generally thought to be the *Lotharingi* mentioned above.¹⁴
4. Finally, there are the *nostrates*, to whom Suger also referred in the passage concerning the back panel added to the altar frontal of Charles the Bald. They were probably responsible for the execution of the short sides Suger had added to the same altar, and it is quite likely that they were French goldsmiths.¹⁵

It would be interesting to know, or at least to attempt to discover, which of these ateliers of goldsmiths worked on the mountings for Suger's liturgical vessels, assuming of course, that Suger commissioned their execution. In *De administratione* Suger does indeed mention several precious liturgical vases that he knew of and admired but had not commissioned, among them the Incense Boat (also called the Vase of Saint Éloi, fig. 2) and the vase of Theobald of Blois-Champagne.

Suger describes with admiration the aventurine Incense Boat, set in a metalwork cloisonné mounting. He tells us that it had been pawned by Louis VI and that he redeemed it for Saint-Denis with the king's permission.¹⁶ In 1804, in the course of the Bibliothèque Nationale's Cabinet des Médailles robbery,¹⁷ the mounting disappeared, as did the mounting for the Cup of the Ptolemies. We have a record of the cup, however, in the inventories of the treasury of Saint-Denis as well as in Félibien's engraving (fig. 2). (The incorrect reconstruction provided by Charles de Linas in the nineteenth century is not helpful.¹⁸)

The vase offered to Saint-Denis by Theobald of Blois-Champagne (to whom it was given by Roger II of Sicily) was a *lagna*. This term is difficult to translate precisely but seems to refer to a rather large vase, probably shaped like a jug.¹⁹ This vase has traditionally been identified with the rock crystal Fatimid ewer belonging to the treasury of Saint-Denis and now in the Musée du Louvre (fig. 3). Its identification remains tenuous, however, because Suger never specified the material of which the *lagna* was made.²⁰ In any case, it seems certain that the abbot of



Fig. 3. Rock crystal ewer of Saint-Denis (Paris, Musée du Louvre)

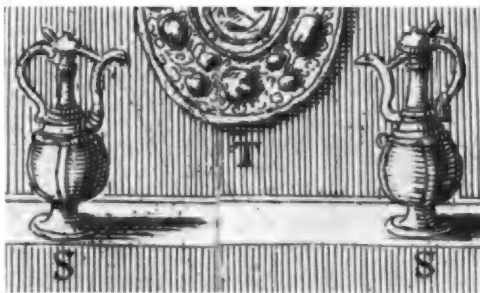


Fig. 4. Cruets of Saint-Denis, or of Suger (Félibien, *Histoire*, plate III)

Saint-Denis had no part in the execution of its gold cover, which may be a work of Italian craftsmanship.

On the other hand, Suger might well have been responsible for the execution of the mountings of the other vases he mentions. Unfortunately the scant evidence at our disposal precludes any certain knowledge of this. I am referring here to a pair of crystal cruets (fig. 4) shaped like tiny ewers, which Suger had intended for use in his private chapel's daily service. They have been lost since the end of the eighteenth century and are known only through Félibien's engraving.²¹ The second vessel mentioned by Suger is a gold chalice, which has also disappeared. This bejeweled vase, weighing one hundred forty gold ounces, was to have replaced a more ancient chalice. The abbot uses the term *restitui*



Fig. 5. Suger's Eagle Vase (Paris, Musée du Louvre)

elaboravimus, which indeed suggests the possibility that he retained the services of numerous goldsmiths.²²

Thus, we can rely only on four preserved vases to attempt a better understanding of Suger's patronage of the goldsmith's art: the Eagle Vase (fig. 5), the chalice (fig. 9), the ewer (fig. 12), and the Eleanor Vase (fig. 14). Although their dates and origins differ, they share common characteristics: the four vessels are made of semiprecious stones and are mounted in metalwork; and three of them carry inscriptions attesting to Suger's use of them in holy services.

The Eagle Vase (fig. 5), now in the Musée du Louvre, is the only one that raises no serious problems in spite of its exceptional mounting.²³ Suger explains discovering this porphyry vessel

(*urna*) in the abbey after it had lain idly in a chest for many years. When he decided to have it mounted, he had it converted from a flagon into a vase in the shape of an eagle: *de amphora in aquilae formam transferando*.²⁴ He then added the following verses, which can still be seen on the bird's silver-gilt neck:

Includi gemmis lapis iste meretur et auro.

Marmor erat, sed in his marmore carior est.

This stone deserves to be enclosed in gems and gold.

It was marble, but in these [settings] it is more precious than marble.

This inscription, in uncials, of niello on a gold enamel ground, is in slight relief (fig. 6). A second inscription, *Sugerius*, engraved underneath the eagle but dated later than the previous one, bears witness to the lasting veneration in which Suger was held in the abbey itself throughout the centuries. The delicately chiseled wings, head, tail, and talons of the eagle (fig. 7) reveal the hand of an exceptional goldsmith who was almost certainly established in the Ile-de-France. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc, an erudite from Aix with a passion for antique vases, had a watercolor done depicting a stone vase shaped like a bird (fig. 8).²⁵ Its mounting is almost identical to that of Suger's eagle: similarities in the renderings of the vases' fastenings to their metallic supports, the tails, and the details of the talons gripping fish allow us to at-

tribute the two mountings to the same origin. Peiresc's vase was, at that time, in a collection that, though not identified, was very probably Parisian.²⁶ The existence of two such similar mountings, one of which was surely executed in the twelfth century under Suger's patronage, would indicate that both came from an atelier located in Paris or nearby.

As for the three other vases, a number of complex problems confront us. The chalice, purchased by Suger (*comparavimus*)²⁷ and now in the National Gallery in Washington (fig. 9), is a fluted cup made of sardonyx and probably Byzantine. Did Suger purchase a complete chalice, that is to say the cup plus mounting, or did he acquire only the sardonyx cup?

The mounting has been restored many times since the twelfth century, but another of Peiresc's watercolors gives a clear indication of the state of the chalice in the seventeenth century (fig. 10).²⁸ The base is raised on a molded band. Originally, five medallions on the base depicted Christ and the Four Evangelists, but today only the bust of Christ remains. The terminal curls on the upper part of the handles are probably remade. The knob beneath the cup is also slightly changed (the base of the hard-stone vase can be seen on the Peiresc watercolor). Gems have been inserted to fill the empty settings. Finally, the upper band of the chalice, adorned with cabochons and double filigree volutes, is poorly fastened on a silver lip, which may be the remains of the original, perhaps Byzantine, mounting.



Fig. 6. Suger's Eagle Vase (Paris, Musée du Louvre), detail of inscription on the neck



Fig. 7. Suger's Eagle Vase (Paris, Musée du Louvre), detail of feet and tail



Fig. 8. Vase in the shape of a bird, from a watercolor in the Peiresc Collection (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Aa 53, fol. 98r)



Fig. 9. Suger's Chalice (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection)



Fig. 10. Suger's Chalice, watercolor from the Peiresc Collection (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Aa53, fol. 92r)



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Fig. 11. *Suger's Chalice* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection), detail of the base and the medallion of Christ

Fig. 12. *Sardonyx Ewer* (Paris, Musée du Louvre)

Fig. 13. *Sardonyx Ewer* (Paris, Musée du Louvre), detail of the base with inscription, showing the soldering of the restored part

Fig. 14. *Eleanor Vase* (Paris, Musée du Louvre)

Although the mounting is clearly Byzantine in inspiration,²⁹ it is Western in its execution. Particularly Western technical details include the alternation of cabochons with paired pearls; the setting of precious stones in notched bezels surrounded by beaded filigree; densely set beaded double filigree wires soldered completely to the metallic ground instead of being bound by wires at intervals; and the presence of some granulation surrounded by a beaded wire (fig. 11).

Suger tells us that he owned another sardonyx vase but in a different shape from that of his chalice.³⁰ This is the sardonyx ewer now at the Musée du Louvre (fig. 12).³¹ Suger mentions only the vase, not its mounting, and seems to associate the ewer and chalice, using the word *adjunximus*. Just as he did for the Eagle Vase, Suger had some verses added to the base of the ewer to commemorate his donation. This inscription (fig. 13)—in capital letters gilded on a niello ground—differs greatly, however, from the one engraved on the neck of the eagle in one simple respect: the ewer's present base was, for the most part, restored in the fifteenth century, as proved by clearly discernible soldering traces on its upper section. The present inscription probably copies the original one, but it is in a script that does not belong to the twelfth century.³²

By contrast, the mounting of the upper part of the ewer is well preserved and can be compared to that of the chalice: the handles, with the exception of the terminal flourished curls, are similar, displaying the same alternation of cabochon and filigree (figs. 9 and 12). But the greatest resemblance between the two objects lies in their technical characteristics: notched bezels surrounded by a single beaded filigree wire; densely set double filigree "volutés"; and granulation encircled by beading (figs. 11, 16, and 17). Thus, it seems evident that the two sardonyx vases, although different in shape and origin, had their mountings produced in the same atelier. Therefore when Suger used the word *comparavimus* (we have acquired) in writing about the chalice, he was referring only to what was hardest to obtain, the sardonyx cup itself.

The last of Suger's vessels is the Eleanor Vase, now also at the Musée du Louvre (fig. 14).³³ Suger tells us the story of this strange rock crystal Fatimid object, with a design not unlike hammered metal, which Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine gave to Louis VII shortly after their marriage, and which the king subsequently presented to the abbot of Saint-Denis. And Suger adds:

We have recorded the sequence of these gifts on the vase itself, after it had been adorned with gems and gold, in some little verses:

As a bride, Eleanor gave this vase to King Louis,
Mitadulus to her grandfather, the king to me, and
Suger to the saints.³⁴

Suger's text indicates clearly this time that both the mounting and the inscription were added on his orders. The inscription (fig. 15), in niello on a gold background, is in the same type of uncial letters as the inscription on the neck of the Eagle Vase. At first glance the mounting of the Moslem crystal might seem quite different from the mountings of both the ewer and the chalice because of the superb filigree flowers covering the neck and the base. However, a careful examination of the Eleanor Vase alters this first impression. A few spots show signs of old restorations: the band of filigree rinceaux set with amethysts and located above the rim of the crystal vessel was certainly added in the thirteenth century;³⁵ and the enamel medallions adorned with fleur-de-lis are characteristic of the fourteenth century.

Apart from those details, the affinities in design between the neck of the Eleanor Vase and the neck of the ewer (figs. 12 and 14) are unmistakable, particularly if we consider the segments that ascend with decreasing diameters and the same alternation of brilliantly shining segments, rounded segments, and segments with filigree work. The particular shape of the neck can, of course, be observed on the vases held by the Apocalyptic elders found in the archivolts surrounding the Last Judgment tympanum at Saint-Denis (see Gerson figs. 8 and 9). This proves, all the more, that this type of vase, with variations, was fashionable at the time.³⁶

It should further be emphasized that the form of the bezels is exactly the same on the Eleanor Vase, the chalice, and the ewer; that the double filigree work (even when shaped as flowers) is absolutely the same as that found on the chalice and ewer; and that we find on the Eleanor Vase granulation surrounded by a beaded filigree wire (compare figs. 11 and 15 to 18). We therefore conclude that the mountings of these three vases were executed in the same atelier, at Suger's behest. But one question remains: Who were the goldsmiths?

Resemblances between the techniques used in Suger's vases and in earlier or contemporary metalwork objects have not yet been fully explored. We could certainly draw some parallels between the forms of Suger's vases and certain mounted vases in the S. Marco treasury or objects produced in the North in the tenth or eleventh century, but this would only concern their general appearance.³⁷ If we compare, for instance, Suger's vases to the small fluted oval bowl of Saint-Denis (fig. 19, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles), which Suger must have seen,³⁸ we are confronted not only by resemblances but also by dissimilarities: the small fluted oval bowl is composed of an agate body set into a silver gilt mounting with gems and filigree work as are Suger's chalice and ewer, and the general disposition of the cabochons set in the middle of filigree work and the small filigree rosettes brings to mind the decoration of the Eleanor Vase. But the differences in technique are considerable and certainly indicate another date and origin; the setting of the precious stones is not



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Fig. 15. Eleanor Vase (Paris, Musée du Louvre), detail of the base

Fig. 16. Sardonix Ewer (Paris, Musée du Louvre), detail of the neck

Fig. 17. Sardonix Ewer (Paris, Musée du Louvre), detail of the handle

Fig. 18. Eleanor Vase (Paris, Musée du Louvre), detail of the neck

the same, and the bezels are not encircled by filigree. Moreover, the type of filigree is completely different, with simple metal wires in loose volutes, which are fixed at intervals to the metal ground by small rings (fig. 20).

This last point is, perhaps, decisive because no other northern European metalwork of the tenth, eleventh, or twelfth century displays the tightly rolled, beaded filigree completely soldered to the metal ground found on Suger's vases. This type of filigree, observable on the chalice, the ewer, and the Eleanor Vase, is indeed one of the chief characteristics of the Dionysian atelier. It is completely different both in the manner in which it is attached and in its design from earlier or contemporary works executed in Mosan or Rhenish workshops: the *Lotharingi* and the *Barbari* did not work on these vases.

These purely technical observations, and particularly the differences in the appearance of the filigree work, lead us to the conclusion that this easily recognizable atelier (from which we have no extant work other than those objects made for the abbot of Saint-Denis) was composed of goldsmiths called *nostrates* by Suger (see page 284). This hypothesis is strengthened by other arguments: why, for example, did Suger, who was always eager to boast of his commissionings of foreign artists, not reveal the origins of the craftsmen responsible for the mounting of the vases? The obvious answer is that they were local goldsmiths. Certainly the existence of these Ile-de-France goldsmiths,³⁹ and the quality of their work, are sufficiently proved by the undeniable beauty of the mounting of the Eagle Vase (fig. 5), and the clearly related vase in the shape of a bird, known from the Peiresc watercolor (fig. 8). If indeed Suger had at his disposal an atelier capable of such exceptional work, why not entrust it with the mounting of these hard-stone vases as they were gradually acquired by or presented to him?

The interpretation of Suger's text presents some difficulties and the translation proposed here concerning the Eleanor Vase could perhaps be questioned. It is possible that the king presented the Fatimid rock crystal, already mounted as a vase, to Suger and that the abbot only added his inscription to the object. If this were the case, it still does not rule out identifying the atelier with Suger's *nostrates*. If we take into consideration the technical affinities existing between the Eleanor Vase, the chalice, and the ewer, we must then accept the fact that the royal atelier of goldsmiths and Suger's workshop were one and the same, and our argument for a local atelier is further strengthened.



Fig. 19. *Fluted boat of Saint-Denis* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles)



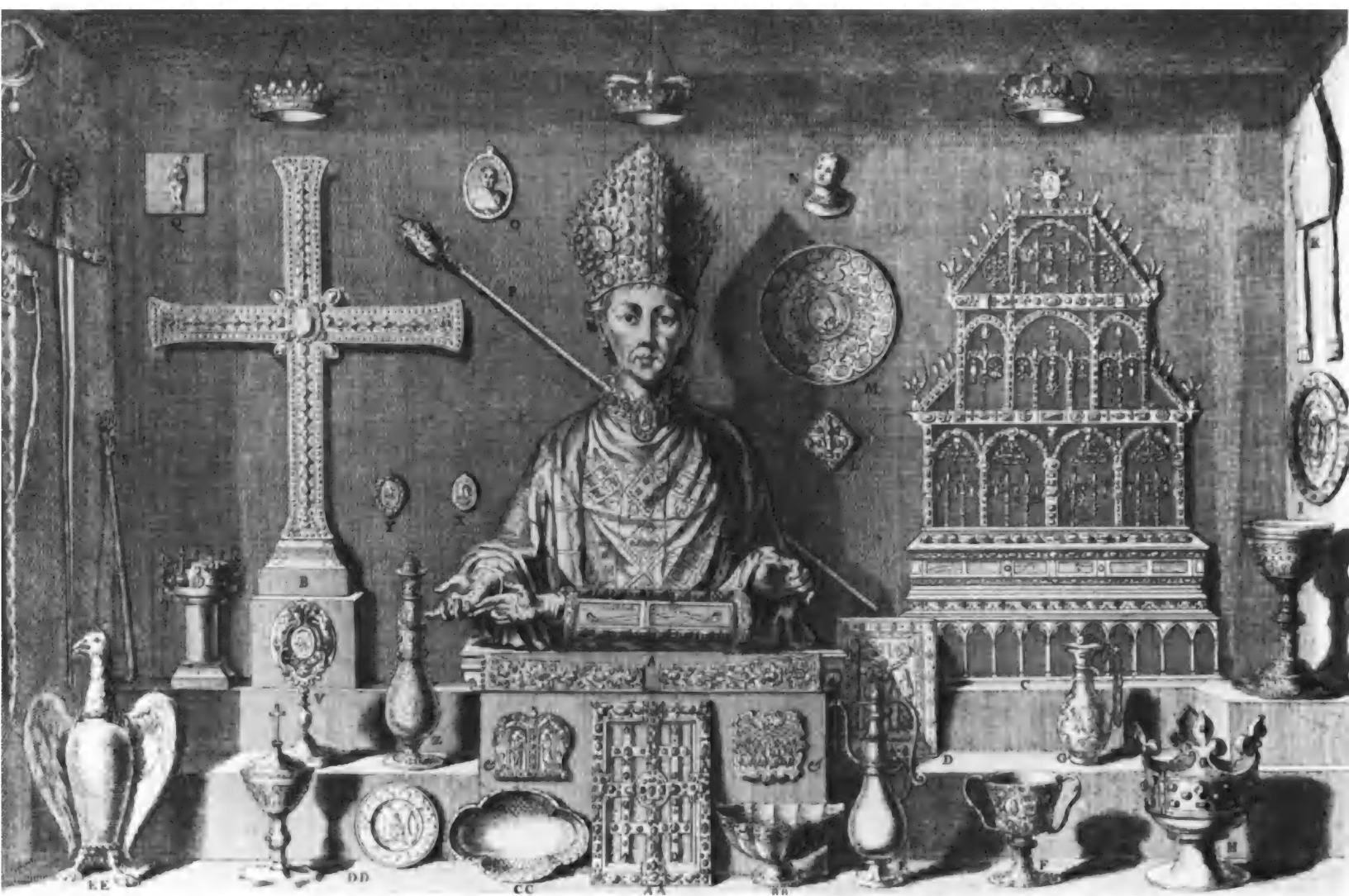
Fig. 20. *Fluted boat of Saint-Denis* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles), detail of filigree work

NOTES

*This essay was translated by Françoise Vachon.

1. This interest is particularly clear in the *Liber de rebus in administratione sua gestis*. See Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 151–209; Suger, *Adm.* (P), pp. 40–81. All further references to Suger's text come from the edition of Lecoy de la Marche.
2. See particularly Panofsky's analysis in *Suger*, pp. 6, 10–16.
3. See Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 198–200. Besides, this idea is resumed in the *versiculi* engraved on the base of the Louvre sardonxy ewer. See note 30 here; also Panofsky, *Suger*, pp. 13–16.
4. Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 198–200; and Panofsky, *Suger*, pp. 20–22.
5. See Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 198–99.
6. *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 196–98, 202–3; and Suger, *Cb.* (L), pp. 353–56 (it was compulsory to celebrate the anniversary of Charles the Bald).
7. See Blaise de Montesquiou-Fezensac and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor de Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1973–77), vols. 1 and 2, nos. 188, 156–57, 15, and 4. For the *écran de Charlemagne* and its attribution to the goldsmiths of Charles the Bald, see Jean Hubert, "L'Esclain dit de Charlemagne au trésor de Saint-Denis," *Les Cahiers archéologiques* 4 (1949): 71–77. See also Peter Lasko, "The Esclain de Charlemagne," *Festschrift für H. Wetzels* (Berlin, 1975), pp. 127–34; and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "L'Orfèvrerie cloisonnée à l'époque carolingienne," *Les Cahiers archéologiques* 29 (1981–82): 6–26.
8. See Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vols. 1 and 2, no. 69, vol. 3, pp. 54–57 and pls. 36–40; and Gaborit-Chopin, "L'Orfèvrerie," pp. 6–26.
9. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vol. 2, pp. 172–73 (Description of 1726), vol. 3, pp. 54–56, pls. 36 and 38; Michel Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris, 1706), pls. IV, F, and VI; and Jean Tristan de Saint-Amant, *Commentaires historiques contenant l'histoire générale des empereurs* (Paris, 1644), vol. 2, p. 602.
10. Ernest Babelon believed that the *versiculi* ("Hoc vas Xte [Christe] tibi mente dicavit/Tertius in Francos regimine Karlus") had been added by Suger. See Ernest Babelon, *Catalogue des camées de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1897), p. 205; and Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vol. 3, pp. 55–56. Suger conformed to the Dionysian custom and referred to Charles the Bald by the name of "Carolus tertius" on at least three occasions. See Suger, *Adm.* (L), pp. 196, 202; Suger, *Cb.* (L), p. 353; and Gaborit-Chopin, "L'Orfèvrerie," n. 49.
11. "Artifices peritiores de diversis partibus convocavimus." ("We convoked the most experienced artists from diverse parts.") (Suger, *Adm.* [L], pp. 194–95.)
12. "Per plures aurifabros Lotharingos, quandoque quinque, quandoque septem, vix duobus annis" ("through several goldsmiths from Lorraine—at times five, at others seven—barely within two years.") (*Ibid.*, p. 196.) The identification of the *Lotharingi* with Mosan goldsmiths should be qualified. It is likely but not at all certain. In any case, one cannot extrapolate from Suger's text that the "head of the atelier was Godefroy of Huy," as has been done recently. See Philippe Verdier, "Saint-Denis et la tradition carolingienne des tituli," *Mélanges René Louis*, 1982, p. 351 and n. 22.
13. "Ulteriore vero tabulam, miro opere sumptuque profuso, quoniam barbari et profusiores nostratibus erant artifices . . . extulimus." ("But the rear panel, of marvelous workmanship and lavish sumptuousness, for the barbarian artists were even more lavish than ours, we ennobled with chased relief work.") (*Ibid.*, 196–98.)
14. According to Du Cange, *Glossarium*, the *barbari* are those who do not speak a romance language and come from countries located beyond the Rhine. Verdier, "Saint-Denis," p. 351, does not identify them with the *Lotharingi*, whom he considers to have been a Mosan, French-speaking atelier.
15. *Nostrates*, those "who come from our own country, compatriots." Even if we accept the idea that the *Lotharingi* are French-speaking Mosan craftsmen, the term *nostrates* would not apply to them but would refer only to French goldsmiths, probably from the royal domain.
16. ". . . ad formam navis exculptum," see Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 207; Babelon, *Catalogue*, no. 374; and Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vols. 1 and 2, no. 74, vol. 3, pp. 60–61, pl. 45.
17. The vase as well as part of the treasury of Saint-Denis were brought to the Cabinet des Médailles in 1791. In 1804 it was stolen at the same time as Suger's chalice and the Cup of the Ptolemies. The Cup of the Ptolemies and the Incense Boat were found and returned to the Cabinet des Médailles, but their precious mountings were missing. The history of Suger's Chalice, which belongs today to the National Gallery in Washington, can be found in *Royal Abbey*, pp. 108–11.
18. See Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vols. 1 and 2, no. 74, vol. 3, pp. 60–61; and Charles de Linas, *Orfèvrerie mérovingienne. Les oeuvres de Saint Éloi et la verroterie cloisonnée* (Paris, 1864), pp. 60–64.
19. See Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 208.
20. Paris, Musée du Louvre, M. R. 333. See Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vols. 1 and 2, no. 33, vol. 3, pp. 44–45, pls. 26–27.
21. *Ibid.*, vols. 1 and 2, no. 63, vol. 3, p. 52, pl. 34B; Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 208. As suggested by Panofsky (*Suger*, p. 206), it seems that these crystal cruets can be identified with the ones called "of Saint-Denis." They are reproduced on plate III, S, of Félibien's book (see page 282). According to this engraving, there is a striking resemblance between their mounting and that of Suger's sardonxy ewer which they were supposed to accompany. This could indicate that the two crystal objects might have been executed by the same atelier. Panofsky interprets Suger's words *capella nostra* to mean the cruets were to be used in his private chapel.
22. "Magnum videlicet calicem aureum . . . pro alio, qui tempore antecessoris nostri vadimonio perierat, restitui elaboravimus." This is translated by Panofsky, "Specifically we caused to be made a big golden chalice . . . as a substitute for another one which had been lost as a pawn in the time of our predecessor" (Suger, *Adm.* [P], pp. 76–77).
23. Paris, Musée du Louvre, M. R. 422. Ht., 431cm.; L. max.,

- 270cm. See Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vols. 1 and 2, no. 28, vol. 3, pp. 42–43, pls. 23–24. According to Daniel Alcouffe, the body of the vase could come from Roman Imperial times rather than from Egypt as suggested by Richard Delbrueck, *Antike Porphywerke* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1932), pp. 203–4.
24. Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 208; and Panofsky's translation, *Suger*, p. 79.
25. Joseph Guibert, *Les Dessins du Cabinet Peiresc au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1910).
26. This strange vase appears in the collection of watercolors that contains the vases of Saint-Denis as well as other Parisian collections which Peiresc had commissioned for his research on antique measures. Guibert was not able to identify the origin of the vase; however, he noticed that the watercolor was done by the same hand that executed the watercolors of the vases of Saint-Denis, that of the painter Daniel Rabel (1578–1637). But no object of this type is listed in the inventories of the treasury. However, the vase could have been kept in the *Cabinet du roi* or owned by one of the great Parisian collectors with whom Peiresc had frequent contacts. On the other hand, the obvious difference of quality between the eagle vase and the "griffin nail" of Saint-Denis mitigates against a relationship between the two objects, as is suggested by Anne Lombard-Jourdan, "Les Mesures-étalon de Saint-Denis," *Bulletin monumental* 137 (1979): 141–54.
27. "Comparavimus etiam praefati altaris officii calicem preciosum, de uno et continuo sardonice . . ." (Suger, *Adm.* [L], p. 207; and Panofsky, *Suger*, p. 79). See also Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vols. 1 and 2, no. 71, vol. 3, pp. 57–59, pls. 41–43; and *Royal Abbey*, no. 25. Ht., 19cm.; Diam. at base, 10.8cm.; sardonyx cup: Alexandria (?) or Byzantium. According to Mr. Douglas Lewis, curator at the National Gallery in Washington, a recent analysis proved that the mounting of the chalice was not made of gilt silver as had been previously believed. I would like to thank Mr. Lewis for this information.
28. See Guibert, *Dessins*, pl. 3.
29. See the article by William D. Wixom in this book, pp. 295–303.
30. *Vas quoque aliud, huic ipsi materia, non forma persimile, ad instar amphorae adjunximus, cujus versiculi sunt isti:*
Dum libare Deo gemmis debemus et auro,
Hoc ego Sugerius offero vas Domino (Suger, *Adm.* [L], p. 208).
 The translation by Panofsky is "Further we added another vase shaped like a ewer, very similar to the former in material but not in form, whose little verses are these:
 Since we must offer libations to God with gems and gold,
 I, Suger, offer this vase to the Lord (Suger, *Adm.* [P], p. 79).
31. Paris, Musée du Louvre, M. R. 127. Ht., 357cm.; gilt-silver cabochons, pearls; sardonyx vase: Byzantium, fifth or eleventh century, *Royal Abbey*, no. 26; and Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vols. 1 and 2, no. 27, vol. 3, pl. 22; and *Le Trésor de S. Marc de Venise*, exhib. cat. (Paris, 1984), no. 5 (Daniel Alcouffe) and no. 34 (Danielle Gaborit-Chopin), fig. 34d.
32. The soldering line attaching the fluted base (fifteenth or early sixteenth century) to the older part of the mounting is clearly visible; it was restored before 1534. It is quite likely that the inscription was copied from an older one, but it is not absolutely certain. The *versiculi* in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 13835, the twelfth-century text of *De administratione*, have been added in a later, perhaps sixteenth-century hand. See Suger, *Adm.* (L), p. 208 n. 1. Panofsky also includes this inscription in his edition. See Suger, *Adm.* (P), p. 78, ll. 18–21.
33. Paris, Musée du Louvre, M. R. 340. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vols. 1 and 2, no. 75, vol. 3, pp. 63–64, pls. 47–48, Ht., 337cm.; max. diam., 159cm.; gilt silver, niello, filigree, cabochons, pearls, champlevé enamels; rock crystal: Moslem art, tenth century.
34. *Cujus donationis seriem in eodem vase, gemmis auroque ornato, versiculis quibusdam intitulavimus:*
Hoc vas sponsa dedit Aanor regi Ludovico
Mitadolus avo, mihi rex, sanctisque Sugeris (Suger, *Adm.* [L], p. 207; and Suger, *Adm.* [P], p. 79).
- The identity of Mitadolus remains a subject of discussion. Émile Molinier, *Histoire générale des Arts appliqués à l'industrie, IV: l'orfèvrerie religieuse et civile* (Paris, 1901), p. 168, thought Mitadolus was synonymous with "heathen" or "infidel"; others think that it was the name of an Arab emir. According to Verdier, "Saint-Denis," pp. 353–54, it could very well be an alteration of the name Mathilde (Matéode), wife of William the Troubadour who died in 1126. However, it would be very strange indeed for Suger to have distorted and given a masculine ending to the name of the wife of William of Aquitaine only twenty years after William's death.
35. The gilding of this added filigree band has a different tonality from that of the rest of the neck. The dentelation of the bezels in which the amethysts are set also differs from that of the rest of the neck.
36. See Verdier, "Saint-Denis," p. 354. It seems to me that the vases in question are not carved representations of the Eleanor Vase itself, but rather "bottle-shaped" vases which belong to the same type.
37. For these comparisons see Wixom, "Traditional Forms," pp. 295–298 in this volume.
38. See Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vols. 1 and 2, no. 73, vol. 3, pls. 44–45. Ht., 126cm.; L., 211cm. Bowl: Byzantium, tenth century. Mounting: Rhineland (?), first half of the eleventh century. Gilt-filigreed silver, precious stones, cloisonné enamels on gold.
39. As Grodecki so aptly pointed out to me, it is better not to speak of a strictly Parisian atelier at this particular time.



Saint-Denis Treasury, etching from Michel Félibien, Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France, pl. IV

Traditional Forms in Suger's Contributions to the Treasury of Saint-Denis

William D. Wixom

IN HIS overriding compulsion to enrich the altars of his abbey, Suger must have been keenly aware of the splendors of liturgical furnishings elsewhere, and he seems to have been eager to summon gifted artists from many regions. Suger's grand intentions for his abbey must have been in partial response to what he observed on his travels in France, Italy, and Germany, en route, for example, to Montpellier (1118), Bordeaux, Poitiers (1137), Mainz (1125), Rouen, possibly Liège (1131), Rome, and Apulia.¹ He was intensely interested in the comments of travelers who had seen church treasures beyond the reach of his own journeys.

As a result, Suger was very conscious of the magnificence of Byzantium, which he attempted to surpass. He wrote:

I used to converse with travelers from Jerusalem and, to my great delight, to learn from those to whom the treasures of Constantinople and the ornaments of Hagia Sophia had been accessible whether the things here could claim some value in comparison with those there.²

While it is clear from the context of this excerpt that Suger hoped to outdo the treasures of Constantinople, we may also suspect that he wished to emulate these treasures of the East.

Certainly Suger's own chalice³ demonstrates a healthy respect for Byzantine tradition (fig. 1). The chalice's overall shape and proportions are generally similar to those of several Byzantine chalices made in the previous two centuries in Constantinople and brought back to Venice after the sack of the imperial city in 1204.⁴ Although there was an even earlier Western tradition with a common Eastern root with respect to the general proportions, as represented by the late-eighth-century Tasillo Chalice and the tenth-century chalice of Bishop Gauzelin,⁵ and, al-

though the examples now in S. Marco, Venice, were not yet in Western possession when Suger's chalice was completed, several similarities to Suger's chalice are compelling. The conical foot of Suger's chalice, originally graced with busts of holy personages;⁶ the knob; the bowl of agate (or sardonyx); the wide rim of gold; and the handles that clamp the rim and knob tightly to the bowl are the elements that most recall Byzantine tradition.⁷ Let us take, for comparison's sake, three of the S. Marco chalices, each with an agate bowl with silver-gilt mounts, pearls, and cloisonné enamels: a chalice from the tenth or eleventh century (fig. 2);⁸ the chalice of Emperor Romanus I (or II?) from the tenth century (fig. 3);⁹ and a chalice, probably from the eleventh century, with additional cabochon decoration (fig. 4).¹⁰ Suger's goldsmith left us a special clue to this postulated Byzantine patrimony. The one original, surviving medallion in gold, that of Christ as Pantocrator (fig. 5), while clearly Western in its modeling and in the paleographic character of the letter A (alpha) is nevertheless Byzantine in inspiration, as underscored by comparison with Byzantine coins (fig. 6)¹¹ or with the repoussé medallions on Byzantine metalwork objects of the tenth century and the first half of the eleventh century (fig. 7).¹²

Similarly, in Suger's ewer (fig. 8), which actually incorporates a Byzantine sardonyx pitcher,¹³ elements in the mounting attest to an awareness of Byzantine forms. The construction of the segmented neck, with a compressed knob bordered with beaded wire, recalls the stems of the Constantinopolitan chalices previously illustrated, particularly the Romanus Chalice (figs. 3 and 4).

The overall configuration of the Eagle Vase (fig. 9),¹⁴ brilliantly adapting an ancient porphyry urn to a new purpose, was probably equally inspired by a Byzantine imperial represen-



1



2



3



4

Fig. 1. *Suger's Chalice* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection)

Fig. 2. *Sardonyx chalice* from Constantinople (Venice, Basilica of S. Marco, Treasury), tenth–eleventh century

Fig. 3. *Chalice of Emperor Romanus* (Venice, Basilica of S. Marco, Treasury), tenth century for mounts

Fig. 4. *Onyx-agate chalice* from Constantinople (Venice, Basilica of S. Marco, Treasury), eleventh century



Fig. 6. *Histamena of Michael IV* (Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Wittemore Loan), 1034–41



Fig. 5. *Suger's Chalice* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection), detail of Christ Pantocrator, relief medallion in gold



Fig. 7. *Processional Cross* from Constantinople (Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art), late tenth century–first half eleventh century, detail of central medallion, face of Christ Pantocrator



Fig. 8. *Sardonyx Ewer* (Paris, Musée du Louvre)



Fig. 9. *Suger's Eagle Vase* (Paris, Musée du Louvre)

tation, such as one of the hieratic eagles on imperial textiles of the tenth and eleventh centuries. This was suggested long ago by Joan Evans, who cited in particular the shroud of Saint Germain in the church of Saint-Eusèbe at Auxerre (fig. 10).¹⁵

Suger's inspiration was, as already noted, not solely of the East. In their continuation of Carolingian and Rhenish-Ottonian decorative schemes of ornament, Suger's goldsmiths were still steeped in Western traditions. Suger's own words document his admiration for earlier Western work. He proudly chronicled the acquisition of the Vase (incense boat) of Saint Éloi (see Gaborit-Chopin fig. 2), a green aventurine incense boat with Merovingian settings, probably dating from the sixth or seventh century.¹⁶ The settings, destroyed early in the nineteenth century,

are recorded in Félibien's engraving of 1706. Martin Conway, in his important 1915 article on the treasury, offered a conjectural reconstruction recently corrected by a careful reading of the 1634 inventory.¹⁷ From both coloristic and technical points of view, the lost mounts may have been similar to the contemporary lapidary work on the casket of Teudericus in the treasury of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune.¹⁸ The concept of adapting a hard-stone vessel to a larger form with metalwork mounts was clearly at hand in this piece which had been pawned by Louis VI and subsequently redeemed by Suger for Saint-Denis. Yet the actual details of this mounting—a quatrelobed upper rim in silver-gilt cloisonné with inset blue glass, emeralds, garnets, and pearls—had no more stylistic impact on Suger's goldsmiths than did the now-

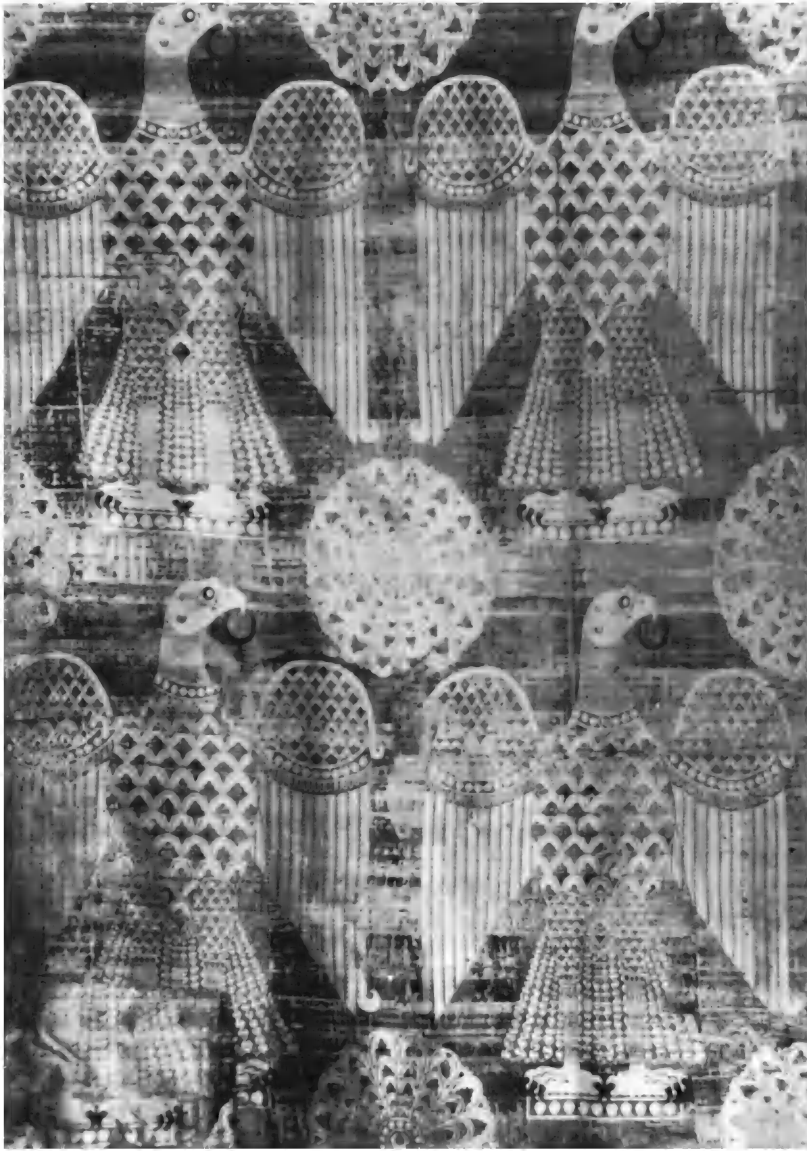


Fig. 10. *Shroud of Saint Germain from Constantinople (Auxerre, Saint-Eusèbe), late tenth or early eleventh century*

lost Cross of Saint Éloi, visible in the upper portion of the late-fifteenth-century painting by the Master of Saint-Giles (fig. 11).

Carolingian goldsmith work was still richly evident and much revered in Suger's time, as was made clear by Suger's own account concerning the altar frontal of Charles the Bald (also shown in fig. 11 but adapted as an altarpiece):

We hastened to adorn the Main Altar of the blessed Denis, where there was only one beautiful and precious frontal panel from Charles the Bald, the third Emperor; for at this [altar] we had been offered to the monastic life. We had it all encased, putting up golden panels on either side and adding a

fourth, even more precious one; so that the whole altar would appear golden all the way around.¹⁹

Suger referred admiringly to the so-called *escriin de Charlemagne* as "that incomparable ornament commonly called 'the Crest.'"

[When it is] placed upon the golden altar, then I say, sighing deeply in my heart: *Every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, the topaz, and the jasper, the chrysolite, and the onyx, and the beryl, the sapphire, and the carbuncle, and the emerald.* To those who know the properties of precious stones it becomes evident, to their utter astonishment, that none is absent from the

number of these (with the only exception of the carbuncle), but that they abound most copiously.²⁰

Danielle Gaborit-Chopin has ascribed most of the mounting of this "splendidly useless decoration," as Panofsky called it, to the second half of the ninth century; it was probably a gift to the abbey from Charles the Bald.²¹ The embellishment of Suger's new tabernacle, the tomb and altar of Saint Denis and his companions Saints Rusticus and Eleutherius, included elements and gems reemployed from the Carolingian shrine.²² The important place of Carolingian tradition in Suger's mind is symbolized for us today by the large rock crystal with the Crucifixion, produced in one of the court ateliers of Charles the Bald.²³ Reused by Suger's artists for the new shrine, this great work must have had enormous appeal to the zealous abbot. Its size, luminosity, and completeness are impressive; its engraved imagery is refined yet expressive in its depiction of a key sacred subject. Both symbol-

ically and visually this immense gem must have taken a primary position in the tabernacle, dominating the whole series of carved cameos and intaglios—most of them pagan—and precious jewels that Suger eagerly acquired from a variety of sources.

Turning again to Suger's chalice (fig. 1) and ewer (fig. 8), we should recognize that even though the overall format is Byzantine-inspired, the decorative details are Western in inspiration. Yet a direct correlation with Carolingian works still at Saint-Denis in the twelfth century is difficult to establish. The painting by the Master of Saint Giles (fig. 11), which is useful in many respects, does not help in the search for technical models for Suger's craftsmen. We might better turn for clues to the extant and well-known book covers from the court workshops of Charles the Bald, such as the Codex Aureus from Saint-Émmeran now in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, or the upper cover of the Lindau Gospels, in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (fig. 12). In the latter we see the outer borders encrusted with gems and pearls set in high, arcaded bezels placed in an orderly pattern. The pearls in these side bands are arranged in the four quadrants of small crosses, each formed by five separate stones. When the eye moves along these borders, the pearls appear to be arranged in pairs, a characteristic of Suger's vessels, as seen in the upper rim of the chalice or in the lost rim of the foot as recorded in the drawing made for Peiresc (fig. 1 and Gaborit-Chopin fig. 10). The inner narrow border that frames the cross in the center of the Morgan cover is of special interest because of its row of alternating pearls and gems edged with a beaded wire. This might be compared with the handles of Suger's chalice and ewer (figs. 8 and 13), where in each case single-wire volutes of filigree separate the pearls and gems. Still, the goldsmith work of the Charles the Bald shops, as represented in the lost frontal and the two book covers, is far more complicated in organization and richer in detail than the surviving objects made for Suger.

The system of a series of gems flanked by paired pearls, which is so attractive in Suger's chalice and the foot of the Eleanor Vase (see Gaborit-Chopin fig. 14) seems even more closely related to examples of Rhenish-Ottonian work than to the Carolingian monuments we have examined. The cross (fig. 14), dating around 973–982 and given to the Essen Minster by Mathilda, abbess of Essen, and by her brother Otto, duke of Bavaria and Swabia, continues the Carolingian tradition of gems and pearls on high, arcaded bezels, a detail we have seen abandoned by Suger's goldsmiths.²⁴ But the Mathilda Cross shows a row of single gems flanked by paired pearls. Except for the bezels and the details of the filigree, Suger's craftsmen have created a fairly close approximation of this design. The chief difference in the filigree, as pointed out by Blaise de Montesquiou-Fezensac and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, is that Suger's artists favored a double-wire filigree,²⁵ whereas the Rhenish works seem to be entirely restricted to a single-wire filigree, best seen at the extremities of the Ma-



Fig. 11. *Master of Saint Giles, The Mass of Saint Giles* (London, National Gallery), late fifteenth century

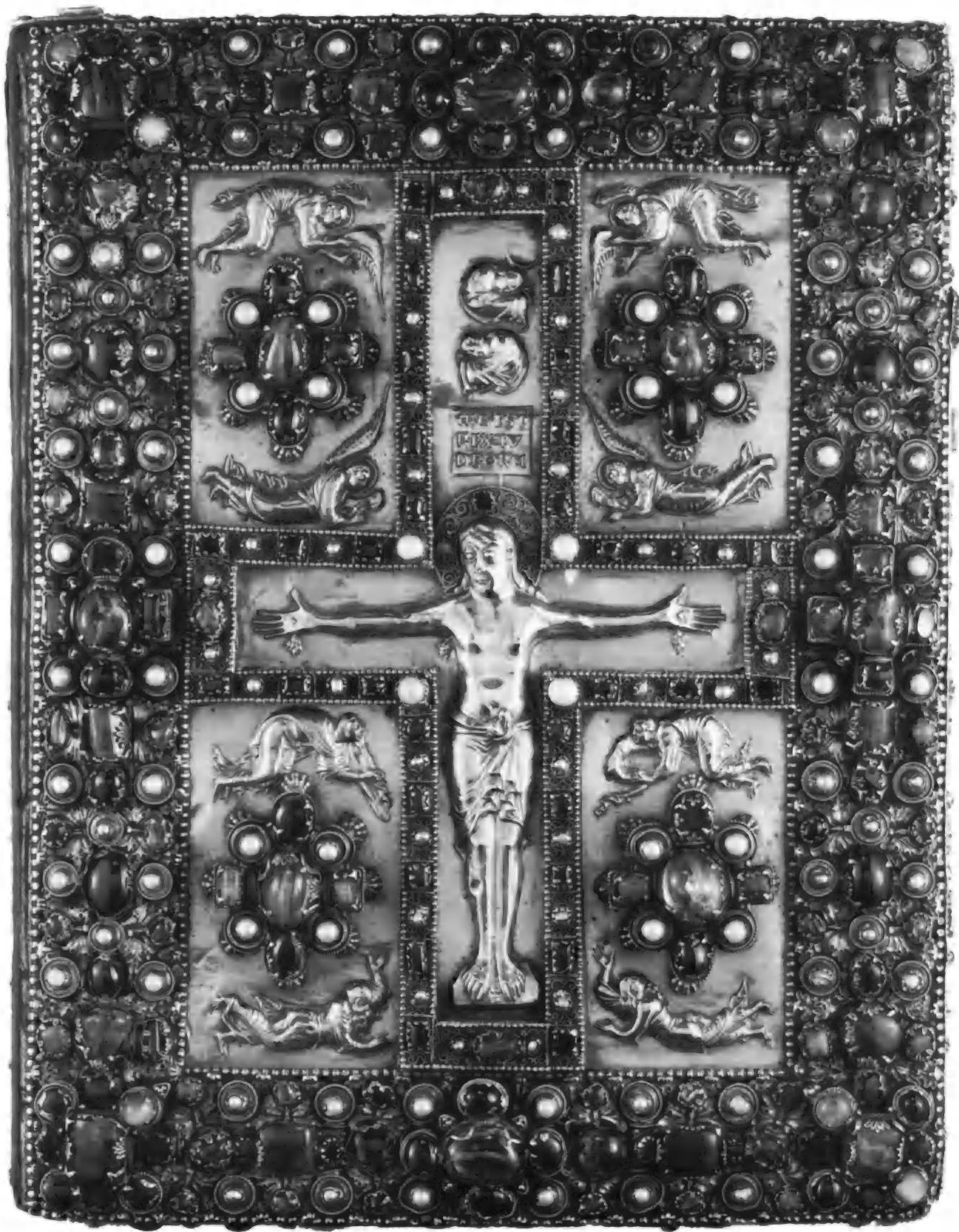


Fig. 12. Lindau Gospels (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1), ca. 870, front cover



Fig. 13. *Suger's Chalice* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection), detail of the edge of one handle



Fig. 14. *Altar Cross of Abbess Mathilda and Duke Otto* (Essen, Minster Treasury), 973–982, front of the cross

thilda Cross. Although the Cross of Abbess Theophanu, which dates from about 1050, also at Essen, was probably partially reworked in the twelfth century, we can see here again the series of gems along the arms, interspersed by the pearls in pairs.²⁶ In summary, the technique and decorative motifs of Suger's three vessels—the chalice, the ewer, and the Eleanor Vase—stand clearly outside any effort to emulate Byzantine forms but seem instead dependent as much on Rhenish-Ottonian works in the same media as on Carolingian examples.

As a postscript to this hypothesis of partial Rhenish dependence, one may observe that the simplified leaf patterns engraved on the sides of the handles of the chalice recall similar patterns in the borders of Cologne manuscripts dating from 1050 to 1150.²⁷

My last point regarding the traditions underlying Suger's contributions to the treasury is by no means the least. Suger and his craftsmen were heirs to a long medieval tradition in their reemployment of ancient cameos, intaglios, and hard-stone containers. This interest, analyzed by William Heckscher in 1937, was in keeping with continuing medieval ideas of permanence and beauty in relation to the flawless appearance of these works preserved from earlier times.²⁸ Such objects were considered and valued within a perceived and established divine order of the universe. Integrity or perfection, consonance of parts, symmetry,

clarity, and luminosity were primary in categorizing the beautiful. In their Christian adaptations the amuletic or pagan magical functions of objects were given a new and superseding purpose. The ancient gem or vessel was carefully preserved intact during this adaptive process.

These medieval principles were already evident in the now-lost Merovingian mounting of the incense boat of Saint Éloi (see Gaborit-Chopin fig. 2), which Suger acquired as a complete ensemble. They are also clearly found in the figural sardonyx chalice, the "Cup of the Ptolemies" (see Gaborit-Chopin fig. 1), with its now-lost Carolingian gold foot beset with gems, an object already in the treasury yet probably restored by Suger's artists.²⁹ These principles are equally clear in the insertions in a whole series of Rhenish-Ottonian works, perhaps the most spectacular being the pulpit of Henry II at Aachen, with its great vessels of semiprecious stones arranged in a cross flanked by pagan ivories.³⁰ On a similar scale we are reminded of one of Heckscher's illustrations: the antique intaglio of a nude youth next to an enamel showing a lamenting Sun on the second Cross of Abbess Mathilda.³¹ The Roman lapis lazuli head of Livia used as a head of Christ in the Herimann Cross, a Cologne work of the mid-eleventh century, is an especially familiar example.³² Suger's artists continued this adaptive process with special brilliance in the

instance of the ancient Roman porphyry vase transformed into the Eagle Vase (fig. 9) and of the Alexandrian second-century-B.C. agate cup transformed into the chalice (fig. 1), both for use on the altar in Suger's new chevet. We have learned from Jean Bony the importance of Suger's columns in the chevet.³³ If Suger

had carried out his idea of transporting the great columns from Diocletian's palace in Rome,³⁴ he would have succeeded in outdoing the scale of all these antique insertions. Perhaps in his own mind he would have fulfilled his *renovatio* more completely if he had done so.

NOTES

1. Sumner McK. Crosby, "Abbot Suger, the Abbey of Saint-Denis, and the New Gothic Style," *Royal Abbey*, p. 17.
2. Suger, *Adm.* (P), p. 65.
3. Blaise de Montesquiou-Fezensac and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor de Saint-Denis*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1973–77), vol. 3, pp. 57–59 and figs. 41–43; and William D. Wixom, "For the service of the Table of God," *Royal Abbey*, pp. 108–11, no. 25.
4. William D. Wixom, *Treasures from Medieval France*, exhib. cat. (Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, 1967), p. 70; François Avril, Xavier Barral i Altet, and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Les Royaumes d'Occident* (Paris, 1983), pp. 333, 335, 430 (no. 442); *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice*, exhib. cat. (Metropolitan Museum of Art edition, Milan, 1985), pp. 136–140, 156–67, nos. 11, 15, 17.
5. Victor Elbern, "Der eucharistische Kelch im frühen Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 17 (1963): Tassilo Chalice, 8, 13–15, 70–71, no. 17, figs. 4, 5; Gauzelin Chalice, 34–35, 37, 72, no. 22, fig. 36.
6. For analysis of the postmedieval changes in the chalice, see Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vol. 3, p. 58; and Wixom, in *Royal Abbey*, pp. 108–10, no. 25.
7. William Martin Conway, "The Abbey of Saint-Denis and Its Ancient Treasures," *Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, 2d ser., 66, no. 16 (1915): 143, mentions as Byzantine-inspired only the handles set with pearls and jewels "as in the case of several Byzantine chalices of about the same date preserved in the treasury of St. Mark at Venice."
8. Hans Hahnloser, ed., *Il Tesoro di San Marco*, II: *Il Tesoro e il museo* (Florence, 1971), pp. 58–59, no. 40, figs. XL and XLI (Inventory no. 69); *The Treasury of San Marco*, pp. 159–65, no. 16.
9. Hahnloser, *Il Tesoro*, pp. 59–60, no. 41, figs. XLII and XLVI (Inventory no. 65); *The Treasury of San Marco*, pp. 136–40, no. 11.
10. Hahnloser, *Il Tesoro*, pp. 63–64, no. 49, fig. XLVIII (Inventory no. 68); *The Treasury of San Marco*, pp. 165–67, no. 17.
11. Alfred Bellinger and Philip Grierson, *Leo III to Nicephorus III* (717–1081), vol. 3 of *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Wittemore Collection* (Washington, D.C., 1973), pt. 2, p. 724, no. 1c3, pl. LVII.
12. William D. Wixom, "State of Research on Some Recent Acquisitions." Unpublished paper given at the First Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Cleveland, Ohio, 25 October 1975. For a comparison with Byzantine enamels, see Marc Rosenberg, "Ein wiedergefundener Kelch," *Festschrift zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen* (Bonn, 1926), fig. 9.
13. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vol. 3, pp. 41–42, pl. 22; and Wixom, *Royal Abbey*, pp. 112–13, no. 26.
14. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vol. 3, pp. 42–43, figs. 23–24; and Wixom, *Royal Abbey*, p. 103, fig. 33.
15. Joan Evans, "Die Adlervase des Sugerius," *Pantheon*, 10 (1932): 221–22, figs. 1 and 2.
16. Suger, *Adm.* (P), pp. 76–79; Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vol. 3, pp. 60–61, fig. 45B; and Wixom, *Royal Abbey*, p. 106, no. 23, fig. 34 (detail of Félibien's engraving).
17. Conway, "Abbey," pp. 126–27, pl. IX, fig. 1; and Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor*, vol. 1, pp. 165–66, no. 74, and vol. 3, pp. 60–61, pl. 45B.
18. Pierre Bouffard, *Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, Trésor de l'abbaye*, (Geneva, 1974), pp. 55, 59–65.
19. Suger, *Adm.* (P), p. 61.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
21. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "L'Orfèvrerie cloisonnée à l'époque carolingienne," *Cahiers archéologiques* 29 (1980–81): 16–22, figs. 14, 19, 22, 23.
22. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin, "Le Tombeau des corps-saints à l'abbaye de Saint-Denis," *Cahiers archéologiques* 23 (1974): 81–94.
23. Wixom, *Royal Abbey*, p. 107, no. 24.
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Aosta Valley, Superintendent of Monuments 251; Art Resource/Alinari 296 (figs. 2–4); J. Austin 132 (fig. 3), 134 (fig. 6), 137 (fig. 12); X. Barral i Altet 248 (fig. 6), 249 (figs. 7, 9); J. Blécon 239; P. Z. Blum 133 (fig. 4), 203, 204, 205 (figs. 8b–d), 207, 208 (figs. 10, 12), 210, 211, 213 (fig. 19), 216, 217, 250, 278 (figs. 9a, 10a); J. Bony 132 (fig. 1), 139 (fig. 14), 140 (fig. 16); Margaret Burke 134 (fig. 7); M. H. Caviness 260; W. H. Clark, after Crosby 113, 125; W. W. Clark 106, 109, 110 (fig. 3), 129 (figs. 18, 19), 130 (fig. 20a), 209 (fig. 13); Compiègne, Musée Vivenel 133 (fig. 4), 208 (fig. 12); S. Crosby 124; S. Crosby Archives 200 (fig. 1), 209 (fig. 14); F. H. Crossley, Courtauld Institute 132 (fig. 2); after Darmon and Lavagne, *Recueil* 248 (fig. 5);

after Demeais, *Bulletin monumental* vol. 80, 1921, 135; Franceschi 234 (figs. 10, 11); Le Gentil de la Galaisière, after Fossier 201; N. Geiger 185, 192; S. Geiger and W. H. Clark 78; P. Gerson 184, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 193, 228; L. Grodecki 277, 281; J. Herschman 110 (fig. 4), 117, 126, 127, 128, 129 (fig. 17), 130 (figs. 20b–d), 137 (fig. 10); IGN, Crosby 112; after *Les Arts*, 1906, 235 (fig. 12); C. Little 76; London, NMR, Crown Copyright, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments 133 (fig. 5); Foto Marburg 139 (fig. 13), 202, 205 (fig. 8a), 302 (fig. 14); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 237, 240 (fig. 17), 278 (figs. 9b, 10b); after W. Oakeshott 214; Paris, Archives Photographiques, SPADEM 208 (fig. 11), 247 (fig. 2), 262 (fig. 3), 268, 278 (fig. 8), 299; Paris, Giraudon 266 (fig. 11); Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux 234 (fig. 9), 285 (fig. 5), 298 (fig. 8); L. Pressouyre 230, 231, 240 (fig. 16), 241 (figs. 18, 19, 21); after Quicherat, *Revue Archéologique* 11 (1854) 81; M.-P. Raynaud, H. Delhumeau 246; Rome, Gabinetto For. Nazionale 252; Rouen, Musée des Antiquités 235 (fig. 13), 241 (fig. 20); D. Sanders, after Crosby 114; S. Sechrist (Bournazel chart pp. 64–65), 96 (fig. 1b–c), 97 (figs. 4b–c); P. Verzone; after Rusconi 137 (fig. 11); F. Walch 274.

